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ESSAYS,

OR

DISCOURSES,

SELECTED FROM

THE WORKS OF FEYJOO,

AND

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH,

BY

JOHN BRETT, ESQ.

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THE

THE BALANCE OF ASTREA; OR, Upright Adminiſtration of Juſtice:

In a LETTER from an OLD JUDGE, to his SON who was newly raiſed to the Bench.

SECT. I.

I. I do not know, my Son, whether to congratulate or condole with you on the information you give me, of his Majeſty having honoured you with a Judge's robe. I contemplate you as placed in a ſtate of ſlavery, which, although it is an honourable one, muſt always remain and continue a ſlavery. Already you are neither mine nor your own, but belong to the public at large. The obligations of this charge ſhould not only emancipate you from your father, but detach you

from yourſelf alſo. There is an end of your conſidering your convenience, your health, or your eaſe ; and you have only now to attend to the duties and diſcharge of your conſcience ; you ſhould look upon your own good as a foreign concern, and regard that of the public as your own. You are already diveſted of neighbours, friends, or kindred ; you have no country, and muſt have no regard for the tyes of fleſh and blood. Do you think I mean to ſay, you ſhould ceaſe to be a man ? No, certainly ; but I would have it underſtood, that the affections of the man ſhould live in ſuch a ſtate of ſeparation from the duties of the Judge, that there ſhould not be the ſlighteſt commerce or correſpondence between them.

II. I repeat again, that I am at a loſs whether to condole with or congratulate you on the event. I view your ſoul as expoſed to the continual hazard of being loſt ; and I was on the point of ſaying, the office of a Judge affords proximate occaſions for ſinning through the courſe of a man's life. You may ſay this is a hard propoſition ; and I acknowledge it is ; but what other inference can be drawn from the terrible ſentence of St- John Chryſoſtom, which is in the following words : *It appears to me impoſſible that any of thoſe who govern ſhould be ſaved.* And what other thing could the religious

religious Pontiff, Pius the Vth, mean, when he ſaid, that while he was a private Religious, he had great hopes of being ſaved, though when they made him a Cardinal he began to fear, but when they made him a Pope he almoſt deſpaired of ſalvation? If this is not a virtual aſſeveration, that the occupation of a ruler furniſhes a continual and proximate occaſion for ſinning, I do not underſtand the expreſſion. But it is true, that although this ſhould be the caſe, the crime would be obviated, becauſe the neceſſity of the public makes the exerciſe of ſuch a function inevitable; but then the crime would only be obviated in ſuch ſubjects, who feel in themſelves, diſpoſitions to perform the duties of ſuch an office with rectitude and propriety; as for the others, I will not exculpate them. I do not underſtand that text of the Eccleſiaſtes as an advice or caution, but as a precept and injunction, which ſays, Don't ſolicit to be made a judge, unleſs you find yourſelf poſſeſſed with that virtue and fortitude, which is neceſſary to extirpate evil deeds.

III. He who doubts whether he is endued with a ſufficient ſhare of knowledge, or a neceſſary portion of health and conſtitution, to undertake ſo weighty a charge; he who does not find himſelf poſſeſſed of a robuſt heart, which is invincible to, and proof againſt the promiſes and threats of the

great and powerful; he who feels himself enamoured with the beauty of gold; he who knows his sensibility liable to be wrought upon by the intreaties of domestics, friends, or relations, cannot, in my opinion, enter upon the office of a magistrate with a good conscience. I do not, although it is indispensably necessary, comprehend in this catalogue of requisites the virtue of prudence, because every one fancies he possesses it; but, if a man mistakes in this particular, I judge his error to be incurable.

IV. He who is cloathed with a robe, ought to keep his soul well fortified at all points, because in a variety of occurrences, there is no passion that may not be inimical to justice; and the suitors are very solicitous in examining where the defence is weak; even lawful affections are sometimes hostile to her. What is more right or proper than a man's tenderness for his wife? But how often has a man's affection for his wife, been the cause of warping the wand of justice!

V. I don't mean to inculcate, that a judge should be fierce, unfeeling, and harsh; but that he should be firm, spirited, and a man of integrity. It is rare, but not impossible, for a man to possess a soul of wax for the duties of private life, and a mind of brass for the administration of public ones;

ones; although the heart may be ſuſceptible of its tenderneſſes, the ſacred caſtle of juſtice ſhould be inacceſſible to ſuch feelings. It is ſaid, that friendſhips may be permitted to approach even to the altar; but they ſhould not be ſo much as ſuffered to enter the doors of the temple of Aſtrea.

VI. I contemplate you, my Son, as having ſome advantageous diſpoſitions for exerciſing this office; you are diſintereſted, an important quality in a judge; but that does not quiet my fears; for how can I be certain you will continue ſo in future? Diſintereſtedneſs, like beauty, is an endowment and ornament of youth, and rarely accompanies life in old age. I have read but of two women who preſerved their beauty till ſeventy; the one was Diana of Poitiers, Dutcheſs of Valentine, who lived in the reign of Henry the IId. King of France; the other was Aſpaſia of Miletus, concubine of Cyrus King of Perſia. I do not know whether you can reckon many more men, who left totally to their natural diſpoſitions, without the invention or aſſiſtance of other helps, preſerved their contempt for gold till they arrived at that age. The ſoul fades with the body, and the narrowneſs and contractions of avarice are its wrinkles.

VII. The danger of people in exalted ſtations in the law, falling into this vice, is greater, becauſe they are expoſed to more frequent temptations. Elizabeth of England uſed to ſay, that the office of a Judge at his firſt elevation, ſeemed to ſit on him like new cloaths, which appear tight and ſtrait at the beginning, but after a little time they ſtretch and become eaſy and familiar. The ſame may be ſaid of Judges in all other kingdoms. Many, who at firſt ſcruple to accept an apple, in the courſe of a few years, are capable of ſwallowing the whole orchard of the Heſperides; and you know the apples of that orchard were golden ones. The ſame thing happens to them that happens to rivulets, which rarely fall into, and are ſwallowed by the ſea, with the ſcanty ſtock they contained in their firſt paſſages.

VIII. Let no caution, my Son, appear too great, to guard you againſt the treacherous attacks of avarice; this ſerpent, whoſe bulk in time increaſes without limits, is at firſt no bigger than a hair; I mean to ſay, they commonly begin with preſents of ſuch trifling value, that the refuſing to accept them would be blamed by the world as affected nicety. But what follows? Why, that when they are once admitted, by the exertion of their power in the firſt entrances of the door of the will, they proceed to widen it by little and little,

little, so that every day it becomes capable of receiving more and more. God defend us from a magistrate's setting about to enrich himself! because in such a case, he may be compared to the element of water, whose stock bears proportion to the contribution it receives; while it is a brook, it only receives fountains; afterwards becoming a river, it receives brooks; and when it arrives at being a sea, it receives rivers.

IX. It is not sufficient that you keep your own hands clean; but it is also necessary that you examine those of your domestics. The integrity of a magistrate requires, that he should adopt the practice of an active and vigilant matron, who not only takes care of the cleanliness of her own person, but looks also to the cleanliness of the rest of her household. This is not only an obligation you owe to your conscience, but is likewise a matter that concerns your reputation, because it is generally understood, that the inferior part of the family is a subterraneous conduit-pipe, through which, supplies are conveyed to the hand of the master; but in truth it happens in point of regale or refreshment, as it happened to the fountain of Arethusa, which although it was received by a cavern in Greece, the place it fertilized was the land of Sicily. We read in Daniel, that the ministers of the temple are the dainties which were presented

to the idol; in the houſe of a magiſtrate, the idol eats the dainties which are preſented to his miniſters.

X. The apprehenſions I am under, that you may one day be betrayed into this corruption, move me at preſent to give you an excellent caution, as a preſervative againſt the temptation of gifts, which is, that you ſhould conſider any one who attempts to gain your favour in this way, as a perſon who offers a direct affront to your honour; for it is clear, that by ſuch an action, he gives it to be underſtood, that you hold in your hands the ſcales of venal juſtice. There are two ſorts of people in the world, who fall into the dangerous error, of miſtaking injuries for courteſies; women who receive preſents from gallants, and miniſters of juſtice who permit the reception of them from ſuitors: for with reſpect to the givers, every preſent is meant as a ſubornation; otherwiſe, why is not their liberality manifeſted to other people as well as to thoſe from whom they entertain expectations? It can only be, becauſe they conſider what they give as an offering made to their intereſt; and that, to which they affect giving the appearance of a courteſy, is at bottom nothing better than a bribe. He who makes preſents to a lady, or a miniſter of juſtice, attempts their corruption by the act, and in his imagination ſuppoſes he has effected it. You ought, therefore,

my

my Son, to consider every one who attempts to gain your favour by such means, as an enemy to your conscience, and as a person dangerous to, and one who would injure your honour; and you should look upon him as a man, more deserving of your contempt and indignation, than your courtesy.

XI. I have given the name of preservative to the foregoing reflection, because it is rather calculated to prevent the infection from getting footing in those, who are sound and in health, than to cure the disease, after it has once taken root. He who has contracted a habit of gorging himself with presents, is callous to the reproach of having put his decisions to sale.

XII. I am inclined to think, Spain is more free from this pestilence than other kingdoms; at least in ministers of your class, this meanness has rarely been observed. It has ever been remarked, that with us, the higher people have been raised on the seats of justice, they have seemed the further removed from the baseness of avarice.

XIII. Would to God, our tribunals were as deaf to recommendations, as they are untainted with bribes! It is on this side, their credit is most tarnished in the public opinion. There is scarce a sentence given in a civil controversy, which the

malice of grumblers, and the voice of neutral people, does not impute to have been the effect of ſome powerful recommendation. The preſumption of the influence, which the protection of men of weight has with the Judges, is ſo prevalent, that many who have been deſpoiled by an unfair deciſion, and who are perſuaded of the juſtneſs of their cauſe, are afraid to appeal, if they know their opponent has great connections.

XIV. We ſhould hope, the world is greatly miſtaken in this matter. The miniſters of juſtice, as far as they are able, and they moſt commonly can do this, muſt diſcharge and comply with the duties of their function in judicial phraſes, and according to the words of the law; and although there may have been poſitive promiſes made, when they come to the ſentence, they muſt conſult and conform to the books of juriſprudence, and not the letters of recommendation. God defend us, however, from the ſerious misfortune of the protector of either party, having, or ever being able to have, influence in the ſeats of juſtice! For then we may have reaſon to apprehend, that to the ſhame of the law, the motive of the conduct of the partial Judge may be betrayed by his countenance, and that the dread of ſuch motive being known, may be the torturer who preſſes out and expoſes the ſecret, or elſe, that the thing may be unravelled by

by conjectures, or proved by ſome tranſactions in the buſineſs; and theſe are the ſort of caſes, which, after many years ſtudy, make people underſtand the law in a ſenſe they never underſtood it before, and which, in the ſame inſtant, increaſes and leſſens their eſteem for the ſame authors, and cauſes the breath of favour to incline the balance, with which they weigh probabilities, to the ſide where there is the leaſt weight in the ſcale. I remember that great lawyer, Alexander of the family of the Alexanders, in his treatiſe called *Dias Geniales*, ſays of himſelf, that he abandoned the profeſſion of an advocate in diſguſt, from having obſerved in his own practice, that neither the wiſdom or abilities of a counſellor, nor the goodneſs of a cauſe, were of any avail in courts, when the oppoſite parties were eſpouſed by people of power.

XV. But excepting theſe inſtances, which have weight with thoſe only, who had rather riſe to the higheſt ſeats on the bench than aſcend to heaven, other modes of favour in courts are trifling and of little uſe or conſequence; but to ſpeak the truth, we ourſelves give occaſion to their being thought uſeful and of conſequence. If when a perſon of authority intercedes on behalf of a ſuitor, we give him hopes and encouragement; or if our anſwers to ſuch applications,

tions, are in terms which exceed what is neceſſary in a judicial reply; and if afterwards, when that perſon obtains a ſentence in his favour, we ſeem deſirous, or behave ſo as to make it be thought, our ſuffrage was a compliment to the great man who intereſted himſelf in the ſuitor's behalf, in order that he ſhould think he was obliged to us; we are the authors of this error in mankind, and the cauſe of the injury, which, in conſequence of it, our credit ſuffers with the world.

XVI. This notion of the utility of recommendations, is an impediment to our buſineſs, as well as injurious to our reputation; for it is the occaſion of our being interrupted with viſits, and puts us under the neceſſity of anſwering letters of interceſſion, by which means we waſte a great part of that time, which we ought to employ in ſtudy. If they knew they were taking all this pains to no purpoſe, they would not embarraſs us with their applications, nor rob us of our time.

XVII. How then are we to act? That is eaſily determined; ſpeak plain, and undeceive all the world. Let them know, that the ſentence depends upon, and is ruled by the law, and not by ſolicitations and private friendſhips; that we can

ſerve

ſerve no man at the expence of juſtice and our conſcience; and that that which they call being favourable, the pretence with which they cover all their petitions, upon a practical examination of things, is a chimera; for a Judge can never ſhew favour, or at moſt the caſes in which he can do it are metaphyſical; even in doubtful and obſcure caſes, and in thoſe where the probabilities are equal, the laws preſcribe rules of equity, which we are ſtrictly and rigorouſly bound to follow. Oh! but ſome caſes are left to the diſcretion of the judge! It is true, but they are not for this reaſon to be determined by his abſolute will. Prudential maxims, and rules of equity, point out the road we ſhould purſue; and it is not lawful for us to follow any other courſe, either for the ſake of obliging great men or friends. When it is ſaid, this or that is left to the will and pleaſure of the Judge, it ſhould not be underſtood to mean his abſolute uncontrolable will, but to imply, that he is to be guided in his deciſion by the dictates of reaſon, and the principles of law. This definition, is conformable to the ſenſe of the Latin verb *arbitror*, which ſignifies an act of the underſtanding, and not of the will.

XVIII. I am well aware, that objections may be made to this frank mode of acting: the firſt is,

is, that we may be called blunt and ill-bred; but, beſides that the reflection would be unjuſt, it would laſt no longer, than till it was generally known, we had reſolved to adopt this method of acting, and till it was become common and familiar among us. While there ſhall be but one or two judicial miniſters who act in this open ingenuous manner, their candid behaviour may paſs among the ignorant for want of breeding and courteſy; but if all the reſt were to do the ſame, even the ignorant would become ſenſible, that what they had called want of breeding, was integrity; and they would alſo be convinced, that this is beneficial to them, and a great ſaving both of money and trouble, which are both waſted in running after, and ſeeking for friends and patrons, whoſe aſſiſtance and protection is uſeleſs to them.

XIX. The ſecond objection is, that judicial miniſters would loſe a great part of the reſpect and homage which is now paid them, it being certain, that civilities of this ſort, are not ſo much the reſult of the reverence due to the character of a Judge, as the effect of the imagined dependance on his favour. It is eſtabliſhed upon the credit of good authors, that Epicurus did not, as it is vulgarly thought, deny the exiſtence of the deities, but only their influence

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or power to do good or harm; but this was ſufficient, to cauſe the tenet to be held as atheiſtical in practice; for he who denies the power of the Gods, denies them adoration alſo. Men do not ſow obſequies, but with the expectation of reaping a harveſt of benefits, and dependance is the only ſtimulus or firſt mover to worſhip; therefore, when men come to conſider the tribunal as the mere organ of the law, where every thing depends upon the intention of the legiſlature, and nothing upon the inclination of the Judge, the applications to the miniſters of juſtice, would be very few and very ſlight.

XX. This objection would have great weight with thoſe Judges, who deſire to be regarded and addreſſed as deities: but do you, my Son, contemplate yourſelf as placed on the bench, and not on the altar; and remember, that you are not an idol deſtined to receive worſhip and offerings, but an oracle ordained to articulate truths. This is the manner in which you ſhould explain yourſelf, and undeceive the world; aſſure the great of your reſpect, and your friends of your eſteem; but intimate both to one and the other, that neither eſteem nor reſpect can gain admittance into the cabinet of juſtice, becauſe the fear of God, who is the door-keeper of the conſcience, requires that they ſhould remain in the antichamber.

XXI. But there may ſtill reſt with Judges a diſcretionary power of ſhewing courteſies, if not in points that concern the ſubſtantial parts of the cauſe, in the mode of adminiſtering juſtice; I mean, if not in the eſſence of the ſentence, in the brevity of diſpatch. This is an error, which I have obſerved ſome of our Judges to have fallen into; and I call it an error, becauſe with regard to myſelf, I have no doubt of its being one. It is an obligation upon us, to give the quickeſt diſpatch poſſible to cauſes: and we do not ſhew favour to him, whoſe buſineſs is done with all poſſible ſpeed; but to him we do not diſpatch with the ſame expedition, we do injuſtice. The preference given to people in priority of diſpatch, is partiality; and the miniſter who is the author of it, ought to make good the damages occaſioned by the delay to him who was next in turn; in this matter, attention ſhould be had to the nature of the cauſe, to the time the ſuit was commenced, and to the injury that would attend procraſtination in the deciſion of it.

XXII. With regard to this laſt circumſtance, when there are not other reaſons to forbid it, the poor ſhould be diſpatched in preference to the rich; and thoſe who come from diſtant provinces, before thoſe who live in the neighbourhood. St. Jerome,

Jerome, in his comment on a paſſage of the Proverbs, ſays, that formerly courts of juſtice were placed at the gates of cities; which the Saint imagines to have been done, with a view of preventing the attention of ſtrangers who come upon law buſineſs, and eſpecially that of the ruſtics, from being taken up and confounded by the multitude of ſtrange objects which preſent themſelves to their ſight, and by the buſtle and hurry of the city; from hence it may be inferred, that the diſpatch was very quick, and that it was not neceſſary for them to take a lodging in town; but things are greatly altered now-a-days, and ſtrangers who come from a great diſtance to proſecute their cauſes, are detained ſo long, that they in a manner become neighbours and inhabitants of the city. Nothing is ſo pernicious as the amazing delays of judicial proceedings; as formerly, they ſaw the tribunals at the gates of great towns, at preſent, we ſee intire towns built round the gates of the tribunals, becauſe the ſlowneſs of diſpatch increaſes the bulk of the cauſes in the office, and the number of ſuitors in and about the office-porch.

XXIII. I reflect with horror on the miſchiefs which theſe delays occaſion; for in conſequence of the expence they create, it frequently happens that both the ſuitors are ruined, the vanquiſhed is

ſtripped and laid proſtrate, and the conqueror has ſpent his all. There are litigations, which laſt as long as the four elements in man, that is to ſay, for the whole courſe of his life; and the reſult of them is the ſame, the ruin of the whole. O terminations of law! you appear like the boundaries of the world in the opinion of Deſcartes, that is, indefinite.

XXIV. Even where there is nothing to wait for, and there is no occaſion of delay, the cauſe is ſometimes ſuſpended for months together. My Son, you are not ignorant of the rule of law laid down by Sextus Pomponius, which ſays, in the diſcharge of all our obligations, where there is no particular day preſcribed or aſſigned for diſpatching a buſineſs, we ſhould make uſe of the preſent day. The practice of all tribunals ſhould be conformable to this rule, and when things are prepared for trial, the deciſion ſhould not be delayed a day, and the Judges ſhould direct, that the preparations are made with all the expedition poſſible.

XXV. From what has been premiſed, it is evident that a Judge can never properly receive from a ſuitor any compliment or acknowledgment, on account of having diſpatched his cauſe, becauſe he cannot be ſuppoſed capable of doing him

him any favour, and conſequently is not entitled to any recompence. The miniſters of juſtice ought to reſemble the heavenly bodies, who beſtow great benefits on the earth, although they receive nothing from it ; for it is their duty, and incumbent on them, to confer thoſe benefits. They receive their reward and ſupport from the great Sovereign of all, who has aſſigned them their ſtations and their duties, and the aſſiſtance of their light and their influence is a debt they owe to the inferior world ; but the inferior world is not charged with obligations to them.

XXVI. Even the viſit to return thanks, which after the ſuitor has got his cauſe, is made by him to the Judges, I look upon as ſuperfluous. For what does he thank them ? For having given him what belonged to him and was his own. They are entitled to no thanks for that ; and if they have given him what was the property of another man, they deſerve puniſhment.

XXVII. What has been ſaid on the ſubject of brevity and diſpatch, is equally pertinent to criminal as well as civil cauſes. The perſon accuſed has a right to be cleared if he is innocent, and his puniſhment is a debt due to the public if he is guilty ; and it is generally expedient, for one or other of theſe parties to be preſſing for diſ-

patch. It is very clear, that proceeding with caution in criminal caſes is neceſſary, leſt you fall into the ſerious miſchief, of puniſhing as guilty people thoſe who are innocent. But ſtanding ſtill and doing nothing, is not proceeding with caution; neither is thinking no more of thoſe in the dungeon, than of thoſe in the grave.

XXVIII. Beſides the reaſons for diſpatch, which are common to, and apply equally to both ſorts of cauſes; there is one of ſpecial note, and great weight, which points out why it is moſt neceſſary in criminal ones; and that is, delay being frequently the cauſe of malefactors eſcaping without puniſhment. This happens by two ways: the firſt is, that by delaying the proceſs, there is more time given to the culprits to contrive and execute their eſcape from priſon, which when theſe fierce ſavages have effected, they are commonly ſeized with a rage, of recovering in a few days, the time they have been deprived of by their confinement, to commit outrages; and they fancy they have a right to revenge themſelves by new ſchemes of roguery, for the puniſhment they have undergone by having been chained and fettered. There is ſcarce an innocent perſon whom they do not regard as their enemy, and thoſe only who are their brethren in iniquity, are exempted from their fury and indignation.

XXIX.

XXIX. This is the common way of their revenging themſelves in general, but their malice and reſentment towards particular people is the moſt pernicious to the public; thoſe who are moſt threatened with their vengeance, being ſuch as have in any ſhape been inſtrumental in their confinement, or in having them brought to juſtice.

XXX. The ſecond way, by which delays in criminal proſecutions afford occaſions for delinquents to eſcape with impunity, is not ſo palpable, nor ſo obvious as the firſt, but in general is more ſucceſsful, and oftener takes effect. I will explain what I mean. When a notorious crime is newly committed, all minds are ſharpened againſt the offender, and filled with horror at the outrage. Even the moſt mild call out for puniſhment, and the injured perſon, invokes heaven and earth for it. The public in general ſeem filled with reſentment, and breathe nothing but ſeverity. All this indignation, in the courſe of a ſhort ſpace of time, begins to leſſen, and by little and little, this fierce fire proceeds to vaniſh in ſmoak; and the further we advance from the æra of the fact, the leſs impreſſion of the deed is left on the mind; and in our converſation on the ſubject, we begin to mix apoph-

thegms of compaſſion with theorems of juſtice; and by ſo much the longer the cauſe is delayed, by ſo much the more our zeal abates; we paſs from hot to lukewarm, and from lukewarm to actual cold. The ſuſpenſion of half a year, changes the burning heats of July, to the cool air and froſts of January. People breathe nothing but pity, and every thing ſeems in favour of the culprit, except his crime. The ſupplicants in his behalf are numerous, many from compaſſion, and ſome from friendſhip or intereſt. When the tempers of people are brought to this diſpoſition, the culprit, who but a little before, in the univerſal opinion, was deemed deſerving of a halter, is releaſed from priſon, without undergoing a puniſhment that is equal to a pat with the open hand.

XXXI. I have often wondered at the favourable manner in which criminals are ſometimes treated, when there does not appear any reaſon, or motive, for being favourable to them; but it ſhould be remembered, there is always a motive for bringing them to juſtice. God commands it, and the public ſafety requires it; and the community has a right to demand, that delinquents ſhould be chaſtiſed; for the impunity of evil deeds multiplies the number of evil doers. In conſequence of ſaving one malefactor from the gallows

gallows who is deſerving of death, many innocent people may afterwards loſe their lives, or their fortunes. O mercy ill underſtood! O impious compaſſion! O tyrannic pity! O cruel pity!

XXXII. I do not deny that criminals ſhould ſometimes be pardoned; but then it ſhould only be in thoſe caſes, where the public is as much, or more, intereſted in their forgiveneſs, than it is in their puniſhment. The public good is the true north, to which the wand of juſtice ſhould always point. The ſervices the guilty perſon has done to the commonwealth, or thoſe which he may be expected to do to it, on account of his ſingular talents for doing them, are ſpecial and material conſiderations in ſuch a caſe. The law furniſhes precepts conducive to this end, in formal terms. Therefore, the death which Manlius Torquatus inflicted on his brave ſon, when he returned victorious, for having fought without orders, was contrary to the rules of equity. What more could have been done to one, who had returned vanquiſhed, and who had no antecedent merit to plead which might entitle him to a pardon?

XXXIII. Princes have a larger diſcretionary power in theſe matters, than their miniſters of

juſtice; not becauſe they can pardon according to their will and pleaſure; for they muſt be guided by their obligations to God and the commonwealth; but becauſe the general or common intereſts, are more proper objects for their conſideration, than for that of particular Judges. With regard to a ſovereign, not only the perſonal ſervices of the guilty individual, but thoſe alſo of his near relations, ſuch as his father, his wife, his brothers, and his ſons, may furniſh motives for conciliating a pardon, or for mitigating the puniſhment; and this has always been the practice of the moſt illuſtrious princes. It is maſterly policy, to inform generous minds by ſuch inſtances of clemency, that they cannot only acquire merit for themſelves, but for their relations alſo. Great benefit may be derived to the community from this incentive; and many other methods of deriving advantages to the public, by a judicious diſpenſation of lenity or pardon, may be hit upon by princes, although it is not eaſy for me to point out or enumerate them.

XXXIV. In crimes committed through inattention or weakneſs, there is a large ſcope allowed for the exerciſe of pity or forgiveneſs. The laws themſelves allot leſs puniſhments for ſuch offences, which puniſhments the prince, in ſome caſes,

caſes, may totally and conſiſtently diſpenſe with. I will give an example. It having come to the knowledge of Pyrrhus king of the Epirots, that ſome young fellows in their cups had murmured againſt, and caſt ſharp reflections upon him; he cauſed them to be brought into his preſence, where he aſked them, if it was true that they had ſaid ſuch and ſuch things; to which one of them, who was a candid ſpirited lad, anſwered, Yes, ſir, it is true, that after having drank plentifully, we did ſay what you have mentioned; and if we had drank more, we ſhould have talked more in the ſame ſtrain. Pyrrhus pardoned them, and in my opinion he acted wiſely. It was a great mitigation of ſuch a fault, that the offence was committed under a kind of perverted ſtate of the underſtanding; and as it was entirely perſonal againſt the King, his pardoning it had an air of generoſity, which tended to augment the love and reſpect of his ſubjects, a conſideration of great importance in all kingdoms. By this mode of proceeding, the public gained a great deal more, than it was poſſible it could loſe by ſuch a crime going unpuniſhed.

XXXV. But waiving the particular circumſtance of their being in liquor, which leſſened the offence of thoſe young fellows; the ſhewing indulgence and lenity by Princes, to thoſe who caſt

caſt perſonal reflections on them, will always have a good effect; becauſe by acting in this manner, they manifeſt their clemency, and cauſe the reflection itſelf to be diſcredited. The evil-ſpeaking of a few ſubjects, cannot take from ſovereigns any thing like the proportion of reſpect, which the opinion of their being clement and magnanimous, would gain them with all their other ſubjects. The delinquent himſelf would be put to ſhame by the pardon, becauſe, if he conſiders it as an act of generoſity and lenity, it proves to him that he murmured without reaſon; and if he thinks the gentleneſs proceeded from contempt, no other puniſhment could mortify him ſo much, or be better adapted; and this is the proper way of chaſtiſing inſolencies of the tongue, becauſe, by proceeding in any other manner, you would feed the vanity of murmurers, and beget in them a preſumption that they were feared; you would alſo inflame their hatred, and ſtimulate their raſhneſs. It has been remarked, that princes, who have been very ſolicitous in fiſhing out and puniſhing the murmurs of juntos of people, have increaſed thoſe evils in their own time, and have eternized them to poſterity. This is a Hydra, the number of whoſe heads is multiplied by vengeance and the knife, and who is ſuffocated by the fumes of contempt.

XXXVI.

XXXVI. The behaviour of our gracious and magnanimous King Philip V. may ſerve as a pattern, for the application of this mixture of ſeverity and clemency, which the virtue of juſtice requires of Princes. Inexorable with regard to thoſe ſerious crimes that were to the prejudice of a third perſon, he always ſhewed a generous indulgence to thoſe which only reſpected himſelf. In the civil wars of ſome years back, when the agitation of the winds was ſuch, as to cauſe even the rocks and mountains to ſhake; when the conſtancy of many wavered, and they ſought pretences for loyalty in deſertion itſelf; he winked at many offences of deeds, and pardoned all thoſe of words, which did not relate to, or were not connected with, the deeds themſelves. This augmented the love of all thoſe hearts who were faithful to him, and in the end was productive of fidelity in the hearts of all men.

XXXVII. But to return to the ſubject of ſeverity in puniſhing crimes, and the duties of a magiſtrate in that reſpect; I ſay that ſeverity is not only neceſſary for the good of the public, but that it is alſo beneficial to the criminal himſelf. It is a received opinion, that thoſe who die by the hand of Juſtice, rarely go to a ſtate of condemnation.

nation. All appearances perſuade ſuch a belief, and there are certain parts of written revelation, which ſeem to confirm the ſentiment. What benefit then do you confer on a malefactor, who if he dies by the halter, takes his flight to a ſtate of bliſs; and who, if he afterwards loſes his life in ſome of thoſe adventures which are incident to his profeſſion, is launched into perdition?

XXXVIII. With reſpect to certain ſorts of crimes, in ſome inſtances where I have wiſhed to ſee Judges very ſolicitous to inflict puniſhment, I have obſerved them very indulgent. I ſpeak of thoſe faults in the practice of the law, which are committed by people of the profeſſion, and thoſe who know the true ſtate and ſecrets of cauſes, and who intervene as inſtruments in the proſecution of them; ſuch as the advocate, the ſolicitor, or the attorney, to which we may add the witneſſes alſo. The tribunal is a whole of ſuch delicate contexture, that there is no integral part of it whatever, which is not eſſential. It is a machine, in which, a failure, falſe conſtruction, or weakneſs of the moſt minute wheel, diſorders all its movements. Of what avail is it, that the Judges are upright, if the proceedings and informations come adulterated to their hands and ears? The greater their integrity, the more certain in the iſſue would be the pronunciation of a falſe and

and unjuſt ſentence; becauſe the judgment would be founded, on the vitiated proceedings and teſtimony which had been laid before them. Among the Japaneſe, they puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity, all falſe information which is given to Judges with reſpect to cauſes they are trying, even when it is preferred by a party intereſted. This appears to me excellent policy. The way to make the road to juſtice ſmooth and ſecure, is to diſincumber it of all impediments to the advancement of truth; and to do this, there is no alternative, but that of puniſhing lyes with the utmoſt ſeverity.

XXXIX. If it is objected, that this would be exceſs of rigour, becauſe the puniſhment might exceed the proportion of the crime; I anſwer, that Lawyers ſhould weigh crimes in a different manner from Theologians. The Theologian examines the intrinſic malice or evil of the act: the lawyer attends to the conſequences that may reſult to the public; and theſe may be important, although the fault may at firſt ſight appear light and trifling. It is true, that the Theologian conſiders the conſequences alſo, when it appears that the delinquent foreſaw them, and in that caſe regards this circumſtance as a proportionable aggravation of the crime *in foro conſcientiæ*. The Lawyer cannot, nor does it belong to him, to enquire

enquire whether the culprit foreſew them ; for he is only to apply the remedy the law has preſcribed to prevent the miſchief ; and thus, for the ſake of example to the world at large, the offender is puniſhed in the ſame manner as if he had actually foreſeen the miſchief.

XL. Let us now conſider, that the falſhoods and deceits, with which tribunals are environed, make the inveſtigation of truth ſo difficult, that in ſome cauſes it is come at late, and in others never. This is a moſt pernicious injury to the public, for the tediouſneſs and difficulty of the verification, gives breathing-time for the ill intentioned, to deviſe and concert all ſorts of wickedneſs. What remedy then can you apply to this evil, but that of puniſhing rigorouſly every kind of judicial deceit ? The moſt pernicious loſs or diſadvantage to a commonwealth, does not conſiſt ſo much in there being a great number of members in it who do not fear God, as it does in thoſe members who do not fear God, not fearing the magiſtrate neither.

XLI. I am not ſurprized that there are ſo many falſe witneſſes, when I obſerve the lenity that is ſhewn to them. Among the eaſtern nations, according to Strabo, they uſed to cut off their feet and their hands. And Heraclides ſays, that

that among the Lycians, they uſed to confiſcate all their effects, and ſell them for ſlaves. Alexander of Alexandria relates, that the Pyſidians threw them headlong from a high precipice. In the Helvetic hiſtory, we read, that the magiſtrates of Bern put to death two witneſſes by boiling them in oil, for having depoſed falſely, that one citizen owed another a large ſum of money.

XLII. When I contemplate how neceſſary rigour is in ſuch matters, none of theſe puniſhments ſtrike me with horror. The moſt juſt and reaſonable puniſhment for this miſchief, and the beſt adapted for the purpoſe, is the Lex Talionis, which was dictated by the Divine mouth, and which God ordained to be eſtabliſhed among the people of Iſrael, and which is alſo recommended by various texts of the civil law. It was in uſe in Spain, according to the practice of the antient law, called the law of Toro. But ultimately, on account of its not being adapted to all caſes, Philip the IId. leaving it in its full vigour with reſpect to capital caſes, where the falſe witneſs was to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, which, if his evidence had taken effect, was to have been inflicted on the perſon accuſed; I ſay, with this exception, he ordained for all other caſes of perjury, that the delinquent ſhould be expoſed to public ſhame and diſgrace, and condemned to perpetual

perpetual impriſonment in the gallies. But when will theſe laws be put in execution? I don't know whether in the long courſe of my life, I have once ſeen the application of them. What moſt commonly happens is, that juſt as they are on the point of determining on the ſentence, Pity violently and abruptly enters, and makes her appearance in the court; and upon contemplation of this moſt ſerene lady, the Judges, inſtead of public ſhame and perpetual confinement in the gallies, decree a fine or pecuniary puniſhment.

XLIII. The words of God to Moſes, when he ſpoke to him of falſe witneſſes, as related in the ninth chapter of Deuteronomy, are very remarkable; he ſays, *non miſereberis ejus*. No, Moſes; have no tenderneſs, no compaſſion, nor any bowels or pity for ſuch. The decree ſeems rigid, and ſo it does; but it is abſolutely neceſſary alſo. With a falſe witneſs, all ſhould be rigour, without the leaſt mixture of clemency: *non miſereberis ejus*. And ſo it is fit it ſhould be; for if it was otherwiſe, who would be ſafe in their property, their honour, or their lives? This is not in reality abandoning or loſing ſight of compaſſion, but fixing your attention to it on the proper objects; it is turning the eyes of pity from a guilty individual, and placing them on an innocent multitude.

XLIV. The ſame ſort of puniſhment, which is inflicted on a falſe witneſs, having regard to proportioning the quantum of it to the nature or degree of the offence, ſhould be applied to all thoſe, who deceive, or in any ſhape procure deceit to be practiſed on Judges, in the buſineſs of trying a cauſe. It is neceſſary, in order to inſure juſtice, to ſmooth the way by which truth is to advance to the tribunal, although it ſhould be done with fire and ſword. All that would be expended in rigour on this ſide, would be ſaved with intereſt on the other. By ſo much the more the proof of offences is facilitated, by ſo much the leſs will the number of them be; and the leſs frequent the ſad ſpectacle of executions is, ſo much the leſs will the innocent ſuffer. Diſpatch in civil cauſes, is alſo a matter of great importance, and ſhould be added to the catalogue of theſe utilities.

XLV. On this account, I am of opinion, that no indulgence, or remiſſion whatever, ſhould be allowed at the inſtance of an advocate, upon a ſuggeſtion of falſe citations, or miſtakes in terms of law (leaving however ſuch caſes to diſcretion, which may be attributed to the equivocal meaning of words, or accidental omiſſions); but abſtracted from this exception, ſuch attempts, if

you conſider them, are contrary to the virtue and eſſence of juſtice, and ſhould not be permitted to ſucceed.

XLVI. Neither ſhould the advocate eſcape without ſevere puniſhment, who eſpouſes cauſes which are evidently unjuſt; and I think the moſt proper penalty which could be inflicted in ſuch caſes, would be a long ſuſpenſion from the exerciſe of his function; and a Solicitor ſhould be treated in the ſame manner, who raiſes impertinent difficulties, and makes frivolous objections, with a view of creating delay. But, O pernicious lenity! already theſe ſerious offences, which are contrary to good faith, and the true ſpirit of law, are judged to be ſufficiently puniſhed by a verbal reprehenſion. This is a weak bridle, to curb and reſtrain the impulſes of avarice, ambition, love, fear and hatred, five enemies of juſtice, who alternately, according to the power or influence of the parties to the cauſe, incite judicial miniſters to violate the chaſtity of their office.

XLVII. We in all parts hear complaints againſt the proceedings of Juſtices, their clerks, and other attendants on them. I believe, if all the delinquents of this claſs were puniſhed according to their deſerts, we ſhould ſee an infinite number of the wands and pens of Spain converted to ours.

Theſe

Theſe people are accuſed of, and ſuppoſed to make a trade of their profeſſion. If all be true that is ſaid of them, it ſeems as if the Devil, who after his own manner is always endeavouring to imitate the works of piety and benevolence, upon ſeeing the church had founded ſome convents of religious Mendicants, for the benefit and ſalvation of ſouls, had a mind to found in theſe gentry, a Mendicant irreligion, for the perdition of them. Their duty is to apprehend, or cauſe to be apprehended, thieves and robbers; their practice is, inſtead of taking the thief, to take ſomething of or from him; and there are few delinquents who are not ſuffered to go at large, and with impunity, provided they have ſomething large to beſtow for being winked at. It is very difficult to detect colluſions of this ſort; but in proportion to this difficulty, ſhould be the rigour of puniſhing them. If out of a great number who practiſe theſe iniquities, you ſhould be only able to prove the guilt of one, it would be neceſſary to proceed with ſuch ſeverity againſt that one, as might terrify all the reſt; that if they are not alarmed by the frequency of the puniſhment, they ſhould be made to dread the weight of it.

XLVIII. Having before touched upon mulcts or pecuniary puniſhments, I will here frankly make known to you a reflection, which many

years ago occurred to me on this mode of puniſhing, and which occaſioned me to look upon it in no very favourable light. I ſay, I have conſidered that the burden of the mulct is not only loaded on the ſhoulders of the guilty, but many times ſits equally, if not more heavy, on thoſe of the innocent. A father of a family, with a ſcanty income, commits a crime, and by way of chaſtiſing him, he is fined a hundred ducats. The ſubſtraction of this ſum, is not felt by him only who was guilty of the offence, but by his wife and his children alſo; and they are thoſe who commonly ſuffer the moſt; for as every one loves himſelf better than his neareſt relations, and the delinquent being maſter of the houſe, he keeps as large a ſhare of the good things it contains for his own uſe as he thinks proper, and ſeldom curtails himſelf of the gratifications he enjoyed before, either with reſpect to food, raiment, or diverſions. The ſaving to make good the ſum taken from him is pinched out of the reſt of his houſhold. His own expences are the ſame, and the inconvenience occaſioned by the deduction is chiefly borne by his wife and children. Don't be ſurprized then, that I look with an unfavourable eye on a puniſhment, the greateſt portion of which falls more on the innocent than the guilty. I confeſs, however, that many times this is unavoidable, and the levying pecuniary penal-

ties

ties eſtabliſhed by law, for certain offences and neglects, is inevitable; beſides which, there is a neceſſity to diſtrain for money, to defray the expences of law charges. What can be done then in this caſe? Why, you can only determine, to reduce this mode of puniſhment, within as narrow a compaſs as poſſible.

XLIX. The honour of the Judges alſo requires this ſhould be done, becauſe the vulgar, when they ſee mulcts laid on with a heavy hand, and do not perceive the money ariſing from them applied to purpoſes of public benefit, ſuch as the building of bridges, the repairing of highways, the making of aqueducts, and in the aid of hoſpitals for the poor, &c. they eaſily perſuade themſelves, that the Judges are intereſted in the impoſition of fines; and although Judges may ſometimes be indiſcreet and raſh, it is neceſſary to reſcue them from thoſe groſs imputations, when it can conveniently be done.

L. When delinquents have no families, and the conſequences of depriving them of their money are only felt by themſelves, no puniſhments appear to me more rational and proper than pecuniary ones, and eſpecially when the nature of the offence does not demand a more ſevere chaſtiſement. In the firſt place, it is not a ſanguinary puniſhment, and

is more conſonant to the feelings of compaſſion, than one that is tinged with blood, both with reſpect to him who pronounces the ſentence, and him to whom it is applied. Secondly, deſpoiling an evil-diſpoſed man of his money, is diſarming him of vice, as it deprives him of the weapons with which he was enabled to do miſchief. Thirdly, if the money is expended for the good of the public, the community will derive a double advantage from this mode of puniſhment, as ſomewhat of temporal benefit will be added by it, to a well-adapted and exemplary application of juſtice.

LI. I now, my Son, have told you my ſentiments on all that has occurred to me as moſt eſſential in judicial adminiſtration. If, upon ſeeing me ſo ſcrupulouſly tenacious on the ſide of juſtice, it ſhall appear to you that I mean to eraſe clemency out of the catalogue of virtues, you are miſtaken. I know the excellence of this virtue, and even lament, that in our miniſtry there is but ſmall ſcope for exerciſing it. I venerate this divine quality, which, on account of its elevated and ſublime nature, I contemplate, as ſuperior to the ſphere of our juriſdiction. I call it divine, by reaſon of its active power to remit penalties decreed by the laws, which is an authority or prerogative almoſt peculiarly belonging, and proper to God alone. He, as Supreme Maſter, can pardon

pardon all ſorts of crimes; Kings as next to him in ſovereignty, can pardon ſome; but the hands of their inferior miniſters are tied in all caſes; for he who is ſubject to the laws, can never be veſted with a power to arbitrate and diſpenſe forgiveneſſes.

LII. It is true, that where the law is obſcure, we have authority to interpret and conſtrue it in a benign ſenſe; but in this conſtruction, we ſhould not loſe ſight of the exigence of the public ſafety, nor the dictates of natural equity: and acting in this manner, is not clemency but juſtice. We may alſo in virtue of the principle which is called Epeikeyan, that allows of a wiſe and moderate interpretation of the law, leſſen, or even in many caſes omit, the penalties which the law decrees. This alſo is not lenity but juſtice, becauſe upon ſuch occaſions, we are rather obliged to conform to the intention of the legiſlature, than the letter of the law; and ſuch caſes frequently occur in ſmall offences, becauſe, upon an examination of the nature of theſe things, it often appears to the eye of Prudence, that greater inconveniences would attend the puniſhing, than the tolerating them. Following the letter of the penal law, without admitting any exceptions, even in thoſe caſes where the legiſlature could not intend, nor prudence ſuppoſe it was meant

to bind, is what is called juſtice in extreme, or *ſummum jus*, which with great reaſon is termed extreme injuſtice; therefore, acting contrary to the letter of the law in theſe inſtances, is likewiſe not clemency, but juſtice. Ariſtotle, who very well underſtood the nature of things appertaining to Ethics, judges the Epiekeyan, to be a principle, or part of juſtice. From all that has been ſaid, it may be inferred, that requeſting favour or compaſſion of a Judge, or ſuppoſing him capable of ſhewing any in the diſcharge of his duty, is an abſurdity, and calling things by improper names; for if he acts according to the law, reaſonably and rightly underſtood, he does juſtice; if contrary to it, he does injuſtice. In what are called *caſos omiſſos*, and when the law is obſcure, there are general rules for interpreting it and ſupplying the defects, which interpretations have the force of laws; ſo that there is no middle path between juſtice and injuſtice, for a Judge to walk in; becauſe there are no means, by which he can act conformable to law, and contrary to law. God keep you.

ON

ON THE IMPUNITY OF LYING.

SECT. I.

I. TWO common errors preſent themſelves to me with reſpect to the ſubject-matter of this diſcourſe, the one theoretical, the other practical. The theoretical is derived from lying among men being reputed as infamous, or as a vice nearly bordering upon infamy. Let us admit, for argument's ſake, the diviſions the theologians make of a lie, into officious, jocoſe, and pernicious. Let us admit alſo, that a pernicious lie is reputed in the common opinion as it deſerves to be reputed, and that it is treated with all poſſible abhorrence, ſo that thoſe who are noted for telling lies to the prejudice of their neighbours, are generally conſidered as the peſts of ſociety; but notwithſtanding all this, my remarks will be principally confined to officious and jocoſe lies; that is, to ſuch as are not intended to injure a third perſon, but are only told

told to entertain, or becauſe they may be of ſome utility to a man's ſelf, or to ſome other perſon. I muſt alſo premiſe, that I mean to treat this point more as a politician, than as a moral theologian. The theologians eſtimate officious, and jocoſe lies, as venal ſins; nor ſhould I or any one elſe in a moral light, repreſent them blacker. But if viewed in a political light, my ſentiment is, that the common opinion is exceſſively favourable and indulgent to this ſpecies of vice.

II. And what is the reaſon of this exceſſive indulgence? Why the reaſon is, becauſe this ſort of lie is not conſidered as an affront offered to any man. The being noted for an officious or jocoſe liar, does not take from any man the honour, which in other reſpects is thought due to him. A gentleman, let him tell as many of theſe ſort of lies as he will, is ſtill looked upon as a gentleman; a nobleman alſo, notwithſtanding his being remarked for this vice, is conſidered as a nobleman, and a prince as a prince. But this appears to me repugnant to all reaſon. Lying is infamous, bad, and vile; and a liar is unworthy of human ſociety; he is an impoſtor, who traiterouſly avails himſelf of the good faith of other men, in order to deceive them. The moſt precious intercourſe among men, is that of a frank

a frank and reciprocal communication of their ſouls; with which, they in converſation lay open and diſcloſe to each other, the affections of their wills, the ſentiments of their mind, and all that is treaſured up in their memories. Now what is a liar, but a ſolemn circumventor of this ineſtimable commerce? what, but a deceiver, who impoſes on us deluſions for realities? what but a circulator of falſe money, who paſſes the iron of a lie for the gold of truth? and finally, what can there be found in this man, that ſhould excuſe him from being diſcarded and rejected by all others, as a nuiſance to company, a vile contaminator of converſation, and as a deteſtable falſifier of all intelligence and information?

SECT. II.

III. I cannot help remarking a monſtrous contradiction, that is very frequent in this matter. If a man of any rank or figure in the world, is told to his face that he lies, he conſiders himſelf as very ſeriouſly injured, and according to the cruel laws of human honour, is eſteemed as having put up with a very groſs affront, if he does not demand of the man who told him ſo, a very ſanguinary ſatisfaction; but I would be glad to know, how telling a man he lies, can be a very

a very ſerious injury, if lying is not eſteemed a very ſerious defect in him who is addicted to it; or how a man can be conſidered as affronted, becauſe he is told he lies, if the action of lying is not ſcandalous or unworthy. The degree of reproach annexed to a vice, is generally eſtimated according to the light in which that vice is conſidered by the world at large. If the vice is not held to be ſuch a one, as tarniſhes a man's honour, his honour will not be deemed wounded by the commiſſion of it; and it may be ſaid of a man in ſuch a caſe, that his honour is not injured. This being a notorious fact, the inference I would draw from the beforementioned obſervation, is, that the frequency of lying, leſſens in the generality of mankind, the abhorrence, which natural reaſon left to itſelf, has of this vice; but notwithſtanding this cuſtom, it has not diminiſhed ſo thoroughly, but that there ſtill remains in the ſoul of man, a clear conviction, that lying is a baſeneſs.

IV. I am confirmed in this opinion, by the obſervation, that a man's denying what he has ſaid, is looked upon as an opprobrium to him. And why is this? why becauſe it amounts to a confeſſion that he had before told a lie. The opprobrium cannot lie in the truth of what he now confeſſes; and therefore muſt conſiſt in the lie

lie which he told before. Confeſſing that he has lied, is a mark of ſincerity, and no one need bluſh for having been ſincere; therefore all the ignominy muſt be annexed to the lie. This, I ſay, makes it manifeſt to me, that their native ſentiment of this matter is not ſo obſcured in mankind, but that it repreſents a lie to them as a moſt unworthy and a vile thing.

SECT. III.

V. The practical error in this matter, is derived from a lie's going unpuniſhed, and from the laws not having preſcribed any puniſhment for liars. Why is there no bridle to curb the propenſity men have to deceive one another? and why ſhould a man be allowed to lie to what amount he pleaſes at free coſt? Although men are not contented with enjoying a total indemnity in this caſe, but frequently glory in what they have done, and go on to inſult thoſe they have impoſed on, and to treat the ſincerity of other men as imprudence; is not this an abominable offence, and ſuch a one as deſerves to be puniſhed?

VI. I may be told, that human laws do not attend to deterring by the fear of puniſhment,

people from committing any other crimes, except such as are prejudicial to the public, or injurious to a third person; and that officious or jocose lies, which are those we are discoursing of at present, hurt no body, for if they had been found to be injurious, they would before this, have been classed among, and deemed as pernicious offences.

VII. Against this remark, solid as it may appear, I have two very notable replies to make. The first is, that although every officious or jocose lie considered by itself, is injurious to nobody; still, the frequency and impunity with which they are told, have a pernicious effect on the public; for they deprive the generality of mankind of a very valuable benefit. To make my meaning more clearly understood, I must beg every man to contemplate the inconveniencies that would arise from a doubt or distrust, whether whatever is told us be true or false; which distrust is unavoidable, and founded on prudence, if we advert to the frequency with which people lie. Upon hearing any piece of intelligence, in which our wishes, or our conveniencies are interested, we remain in a state of perplexity, whether to believe or disbelieve it; and this perplexity is generally attended with a very disagreeable agitation of the mind, that sets a man at variance as it were with himself, and causes him

him to halt between two opinions, and to remain in a diſagreeable ſtate of ſuſpence, whether to reject as falſe, or aſſent to the intelligence he hears as true. Thoſe to whom the rumour that is propagated may be ſerviceable, either with regard to their communicating it, or on account of the uſe it may be of to illuſtrate any thing they have been writing, and are about to publiſh, are ſet on the tenters by reaſon of this uncertainty. They would give any thing to aſcertain the reality of a curious event, that was applicable to, and would tend to embelliſh the ſubject they had been writing upon, but cannot take a ſtep towards informing themſelves, without meeting with a ſtumbling block in their way. Some affirm the truth of the thing, others deny it; here they tell the ſtory in one way, and there they relate it in another; and all this while, the pen of the author is obliged to ſtand ſtill, and to continue for a long time in a diſagreeable and violent ſtate of ſuſpence.

VIII. But although the perplexity that may attend our doubting whether we ſhall give our aſſent to what we hear, may be productive of theſe evils, the miſchief that would reſult from our giving eaſy faith and credit to all we are told, would be much greater; for if we reflect, we ſhall find, that the altercations, diſputes, and diſturbances

diſturbances which ariſe in converſation, are produced for the moſt part by eaſy credulity. Different people, hear different accounts of the ſame thing, and becauſe each believed what he heard; they afterwards altercate furiouſly, each perſiſting, that the account he had heard of the matter was the true one. Reflect how many people have made themſelves ridiculous, by believing what they ſhould have rejected as fabulous. Reflect alſo, that human ſociety, which is the ſweeteſt boon of life, or which would be ſo if mankind were to behave to each other with truth and candour, is made ungrateful and diſguſting at every turn, by the diſtruſt which is occaſioned, in conſequence of our experiencing how much people are addicted to lie.

IX. In order to comprehend how great a good we are deprived of by this diſtruſt, let us figure to ourſelves a republic, although I fear there never was ſuch a one in the world, where either from the generous influence of their ſoil and climate, men were more noble-minded; or from the fear of a lie being puniſhed with great ſeverity, all the individuals who compoſe it, were ſtrict obſervers of the truth; I ſay admitting this, my imagination repreſents to me, that ſuch a community would be a ſort of Heaven upon earth. What brotherly love would there prevail in it!

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and how ſweet and ſavoury would the confidence between man and man be, and how grateful the ſatisfaction, with which they talked and liſtened to each other, free from the ſuſpicion of not being believed, or the fear of being deceived! There we ſhould ſurvey at every ſtep, the moſt pleaſing ſpectacle the world can afford, that of a man's opening the whole theatre of his ſoul to another. I do not think that Heaven adorned with all its ſplendor, or the ſpring embelliſhed with all its flowers, could furniſh a more delightful picture to the eyes of man, than that which would be preſented to human curioſity, by the expoſure of a variety of ſentiments, affections, and paſſions, of thoſe with whom we converſe. In ſuch a ſociety, all men would enjoy a peaceable tranquillity of mind, without the dread, that by means of political arts, a traitor ſhould impoſe himſelf upon them for a friend; that hypocriſy ſhould uſurp an unjuſt veneration; that applauſe ſhould be tainted with the venom of flattery; that advice ſhould be inſincere, and calculated to promote the intereſt of him who gave it; or that correction ſhould be the child of anger, and not the offspring of zeal. But unhappy for us, how diſtant are we from enjoying the bleſſings of ſuch happy citizens! for we ſcarce are allowed an inſtant of relaxation, from the fears, inquietudes, and ſuſpicions, that con-

tinually afflict us, and which are produced, by the experience we have, of the little ſincerity there is to be met with in the world. Conſider now, whether the frequency of lying, does not rob us of a great bleſſing, or to ſpeak more properly, of many ineſtimable bleſſings.

SECT. IV.

X. The ſecond reply I have to make to the before-named obſervation, is, that it very frequently happens, that thoſe lies which are only looked upon as officious and jocoſe, are attended with pernicious conſequences. What does it ſignify, that he who tells a lie did not do it with an intention to injure any one, if in reality the miſchief follows? The emperor Theodoſius the ſecond, preſented the empreſs Eudoxia with an apple of uncommon magnitude; and ſhe afterwards gave it to Paulinus a learned and diſcreet man, whoſe converſation ſhe was very fond of, and with whom, her correſpondence was perfectly innocent. Paulinus, ignorant of the hand by which the apple was brought to the Empreſs, ſhewed it to the Emperor, and begged him to accept of it; the Emperor, recollecting that it was the ſame apple he had given the Empreſs, took an occaſion to aſk Eudoxia by ſurprize, what

what ſhe had done with the apple? The queſtion coming upon her unawares, and ſhe, apprehenſive the Emperor might be diſpleaſed with her for parting with the apple, anſwered ſhe had eaten it. This, in the intention of Eudoxia, was a lie purely officious; but was attended with a moſt pernicious conſequence, as it was the occaſion of Paulinus being put to death; for Theodoſius, ſuſpecting the commerce between him and the Empreſs not to be very chaſte, ordered him to be diſpatched.

XI. Caligula having recalled from baniſhment, one who had been ſentenced to that puniſhment by his predeceſſor, aſked him how he employed his time while he was baniſhed; and he, to recommend himſelf to the good graces of the Emperor, anſwered, that he employed the greateſt part of it in praying to the gods for the death of Tiberius; becauſe that would make way for his aſcending the throne. What lie to all appearance could be more innocent than this? Yet in its conſequences, it was very pernicious, for Caligula, taking it into his head, that thoſe he had baniſhed would occupy themſelves in the ſame way, ordered them all to be put to death.

XII. I could give more examples of the ſame ſort; but am aware, that it may be ſaid in an-

ſwer to them, that theſe are unforeſeen accidents; but they notwithſtanding, are the evil accidental conſequences of lies, which although the perſon who tells them cannot foreſee, are not unworthy the attention of the legiſlature; and of their taking meaſures to prevent the miſchiefs ariſing from them, by aſſigning ſome ſpecies of puniſhment to all kinds of lies whatever. At leaſt, the motive of preventing theſe accidental miſchiefs, ſhould operate jointly with the reaſons we have already given, to induce the legiſlature, to fall upon ſome mode of puniſhment to curb the vice of lying.

SECT. V.

XIII. But the principal miſchiefs that are produced by lies, which are called jocoſe and officious, do not only happen by accident, but ſuch lies have in their own nature, a tendency to bring on thoſe miſchiefs. Of this ſort are all flattering lies. Of the many apophthegms we meet with, that have been ſevere upon liars, there is no one ſeems to me to be better pointed, than that of Bion one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece. He being one day aſked, what animal he eſteemed the moſt pernicious? anſwered, that to the world at large it was a tyrant, and in pri-

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vate life, a flatterer. For ſo it is, that flattery always, or nearly always, is pernicious to the perſon to whom it is addreſſed. The ſame man, who if the incenſe of unmerited applauſe was not offered to him, would be gentle, prudent, and modeſt, would by the application of it, be corrupted to ſuch a degree, as to become proud, fierce, intolerable, and ridiculous. It is not one man only, that a flattering lie may be the undoing of, but it is alſo capable of ruining a whole kingdom; and this is a fatality that has often happened. Many princes, who have had a portion of the taint of ambition in their compoſitions, if there had not been thoſe about them, who fomented this evil tendency of their minds, would have led happy and peaceable lives, but upon being perſuaded by a flatterer, that their greateſt glory conſiſted in adding new dominions to their crown, have become bloody ſcourges, both to their own ſubjects, and thoſe of their neighbours.

XIV. The great Louis the Fourteenth, was without doubt, endued with excellent qualities; and was bleſſed with a ſufficient underſtanding, to diſtinguiſh in what the moſt ſolid glory of a king conſiſted, and to be convinced, that it conſiſted in making his ſubjects happy. Notwithſtanding which, through the whole of his domi-

nions, the bulk of his people were oppreſſed, and groaned under the intolerable weight of the taxes, he found it neceſſary to load on them, in order to ſupport the vaſt expences of the many wars he engaged in; to which grievance, might be added the lamentation and grief that was produced, by the loſs of the infinite quantity of French blood that had deluged the fields in his quarrels. From whence did all this miſchief proceed? Why from the venomous influence of poiſonous flatterers, who perſuaded him, that his greateſt glory conſiſted in extending his dominions by his arms, and in making himſelf dreaded by all the neighbouring powers. They not only perſuaded him to this, but even intimated to him, that theſe were the moſt effectual means, to render his own kingdom happy and flouriſhing. A flattering poet carried his ſervile complaiſance ſo far, as to ſing in his ear, that by purſuing this conduct, he would not only make his own people happy, but would make thoſe ſo likewiſe, whom he conquered; and that they would hug the chains, with which he bound the little liberty they ever poſſeſſed; and what was beyond all the reſt, this fulſome poet, went ſo far as to aſſert, that his deſire of making them happy, was his only motive for bringing them under his yoke.

Il regne par amour dans les Villes conquiſes,
Et ne fait des ſujets que pour les rendre heureux.

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In the idea of this poet, desolating his own country by excessive contributions, carrying fire and sword into the territories of his neighbours, and sacrificing men by tens of thousands on the altars of Mars, is the most effectual way to make people happy; and that it is the great glory of a monarch, to be the pest of his own dominions, and those of all his neighbours. To these extravagant lengths has flattery been carried, and such are the unhappy effects it has produced.

XV. A flattering lie in private life, is not capable of doing so much mischief, if we consider it as standing by itself; but the mischief is infinitely extensive, that results from many of those lies put together; as the use of them is so general, that their numbers are nearly infinite. A learned modern French author, says, that the practice of the world, is made up of people's occupying themselves continually in circulating false complaisance. Mankind depend reciprocally upon each other; and the poor man not only flatters the rich one, but the rich one flatters the poor one in his turn. The poor man courts the rich one, because he has need of his contributions; and the rich one endeavours to conciliate himself with the poor man, because he cannot subsist without the aid of his labour. The money they all go to market with, to gain

and purchaſe the hearts of each other, is coined from the bullion of flattery; which is the falſeſt money that can be circulated, becauſe in conſequence of trafficking with it in this vile commerce, all ſides are cheated.

SECT. VI.

XVI. But beſides flattering lies, there are many others which are hurtful in various ways, notwithſtanding we find them claſſed among the jocoſe and officious ones. A coward brags of his proweſs, and martial deeds; a ſtander-by who hears him, and believes what he ſays, endeavours to make a friend of him, in hopes that he will bear him out in any fray or quarrel in which he ſhould happen to be engaged; and in conſequence of the confidence he puts in this ſupport, he precipitates himſelf into ſome diſpute, where his bravo deſerts him, and he loſes his life. An ignorant fellow, palms himſelf upon ſimple people for a learned man, and they, by believing all he ſays to be right and true, get their heads filled with extravagances, which they afterwards by venting in other companies, expoſe their folly, and ſo by a very eaſy and ſhort method, acquire the reputation of blockheads.

A neglected or disappointed man, brags of the interest he has with a great person; and some who hear and believe what he says, fancy he will be a good channel through which they may convey an application to that great person, and induce him to assist them in a matter they have much at heart, and in which they are deeply interested, and in hopes of the great benefits they may derive from his friendship and aid, pay great court to him, and waste the greatest part of their substance in presents and bribes to him. A spiritual puffer, brags of the miracles he has seen and experienced of such and such a saint; which one way or other, is generally attended with prejudicial consequences to the cause of religion. The physician brags of a skill or knowledge he does not possess; a valetudinary person who hears him, believing him to be an Esculapius, surrenders himself without further enquiry to his management, and becomes a voluntary victim. A young mariner, brags of his great abilities and skill in navigating and conducting a ship, which afterwards being trusted to him, is shipwrecked and dashed to pieces, on some rock or shoal. The same dangers, in a greater or a less degree, and in proportion to the matters that are confided to their management, are we exposed to, by trusting vaunters in all arts and professions, who although they are unskilful, presume

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to boaſt of their great knowledge. I ſhould never have done, was I to ſet about enumerating all the ſpecies of lies, which go under the name of jocoſe and officious, and which are attended with pernicious conſequences.

SECT. VII.

XVII. But I cannot avoid making particular mention, of a certain ſpecies of lies, which find ample protection with, and paſs current through the world, as if they were perfectly innocent; when in reality, they are extremely injurious to the public. I mean judicial lies; ſuch, as when in ſtating a fact which gave riſe to, or is the ſubject matter of a litigation, the parties intereſted, and thoſe employed in the ſuit, diſguiſe and disfigure it, to make it appear more favourable to their own ſide. This ſpecies of deceit, or as I may ſay lie, is ſo frequent, that we ſcarce ſee a cauſe in which it is not practiſed, and in which, both parties agree in the ſtate of the facts, on which the matter in iſſue reſts; and from hence ariſe the length of the pleadings, and the principal delay, and great expence of law-ſuits. Who can entertain a doubt, but that this is very injurious to the public? Yet there is nobody will attempt finding out a remedy for the

the evil. It might perhaps be aſked, what remedy can be applied to it; but to this I ſhould anſwer, the remedy that is made uſe of in Japan. Among thoſe iſlanders, whoſe political government there is no doubt excells ours in many particulars, they puniſh a judicial lie, or one advanced in a legal proceſs, with great ſeverity; and the Algerines do the ſame. Whoever lies, or when he is brought before the Bey, or any of his judicial magiſtrates, to anſwer to a civil proceſs, ſhall deny, if the proſecution is for a debt, that he owes the perſon ſuing for it the money in queſtion, or if the proſecutor ſhall be found guilty of making a falſe or unjuſt demand, in either of theſe caſes, he who ſhall be found to falſify, is adjudged to a rigorous baſtinadoing. Thus theſe cauſes are ſpeedily and ſafely determined, nor is there the leaſt neceſſity for any writing in them, for the fear of that ſevere puniſhment, deters any man from demanding what is not due to him, and terrifies any one from denying a juſt debt. If ſomething like this method was to be adopted among us, law-ſuits of this ſort in Spain, would be as ſhort as they are in thoſe places. What delays law-ſuits, is not ſo much the difficulty of finding out what the law is with reſpect to the matter in queſtion; but ſuch delays ariſe for the moſt part, from fallacious ſuggeſtions, and evaſive ſtatings of facts.

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If the ſuitors, and all the parties concerned or employed in a cauſe, knew, that for every fallacy they advanced, they were to pay a large fine, they would be careful not to ſuggeſt or advance any thing, that was not ſimply and exactly true. By this means, the parties would ſoon be agreed as to the fact, and a determination would quickly be made in favour of the perſon who had the right of his ſide, and there would be nothing left to do, but for proceſs to iſſue agreeable to the ordinary forms of law, in order to enforce and compleat the judgment. The doing of this, is ſeldom attended with much expence or delay; and by adopting the before-mentioned method of proceeding, there would ſoon be a ſtop put to all law-ſuits, that are founded on falſe or ſiniſter ſuggeſtions; and people would not be near ſo expoſed to have vexatious and roguiſh proſecutions commenced againſt them, as they are at preſent. The ſtate or public at large, would be great gainers by ſuch a regulation taking place, as the loſs occaſioned by the attendance, that many artificers, and people employed in uſeful branches of trade are obliged to give on courts of law would be avoided. So that the whole loſs that would be incurred by adopting this method, would fall on the advocates, ſolicitors, and other men of the law; but this would be amply compenſated for

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to the ſtate, by the increaſe it would occaſion of profeſſors in uſeful arts.

XVIII. It is true, that our laws in Spain have not been ſo deficient in this reſpect, as not to have aſſigned certain puniſhments in various caſes to judicial lies. One of thoſe which is to be found among the laws which we term the laws *de Partida* ſeems to me admirably calculated to ſuppreſs this evil. It runs thus: *He of whom any thing is demanded judicially by another perſon, as his property, who ſhall deny the perſon making the demand was ever poſſeſſed of it, ſhall, if it is afterwards proved that the perſon who makes the demand was poſſeſſed of it, be obliged to ſurrender it to him who demands it, although the demander ſhould not be able to prove the thing ever was his property.* But I could wiſh in the firſt place, that both this law, and all others of the ſame ſort, ſhould be extended to more caſes than they take in, or to ſpeak more properly, to all caſes whatever; ſo that every judicial lie ſhould be liable to a puniſhment, proportioned to the miſchief it might be attended with. I would wiſh ſecondly, that ſome lawyers in expounding thoſe laws, had given a larger extent to them, and not have limited the operation of them but to few caſes; for we have reaſon to apprehend, that it is in conſequence of theſe expoſitions, that we very

rarely or never, have ſeen any one puniſhed for this offence, at leaſt I do not remember to have ever known, or to have ever heard of any one that was puniſhed for it. The greateſt part of the Judges, although there may appear but little reaſon for their acting with lenity, are apt to lean to the compaſſionate ſide; but it ſeems to me, that it would be for the good of the public, if upon theſe occaſions, they would exerciſe a proper degree of ſeverity.

SECT. VIII.

XIX. Finally, by contemplating a lie in all its extent, I find it ſo inconvenient to the life of man, that I am diſpoſed to think the whole rigour of the laws ſhould be levelled againſt it, and that it ſhould be treated as a moſt peſtiferous enemy to human ſociety. Zoroaſter the famous legiſlator of the Perſians, or Zerduſcht, which according to the learned Thomas Hyde was his name, in which ſentiment Thomas Stanley differs but little from him, he writing it Zaraduiſſit; from all which we may conclude, that the changing his name to Zoroaſter, was an alteration made by the Greeks to make it correſpond the better with their own language; but to have done with criticiſing upon his name, he in the ſtatutes

ſtatutes he formed for the government of that nation, eſtimated a lie, as one of the moſt ſerious crimes a man could commit. I muſt confeſs; that he erred in this as a Theologian; but that he was quite right, and acted wiſely as a politician; becauſe no better means can be fallen upon, to make men live happy in ſociety, than that of introducing among them, an utter abhorrence of a lie; and on the other hand, if the great propenſity in man to lying is not curbed, although the reſt of the laws ſhould be ever ſo pious and juſt, they will not be able to prevent innumerable miſchiefs and diſorders.

SECT. IX.

XX. It is only in one particular inſtance, that I look upon lying to be ſufferable; and that is, when there is no fence to reſiſt the impertinent and officious enquiries of people into ſecrets, that are truſted to a man in confidence. I ſtate the caſe thus: a friend of mine, for the ſake of aſking my advice, informs me in confidence of a crime that he has committed. A perſon in power ſuſpects him to be the man who committed the crime, and by making an improper uſe of his authority, demands of me, whether I do not know that ſuch a perſon committed ſuch a crime.

I will ſuppoſe for argument's ſake, that he is a perſon of ſuch penetration, that I could not deceive him by evaſions, and giving anſwers, that amounted to my neither owning nor denying that I knew any thing of it; and that my not giving a poſitive anſwer, would only tend to confirm him in the opinion that my friend had actually committed the crime he ſuſpected him of; ſo that I am drove to the neceſſity of anſwering poſitively, yes, or no. It is certain in ſuch a caſe, that I am bound by the laws of friendſhip, fidelity, charity and juſtice, not to reveal the ſecret confided to me. How then am I to act in ſuch a preſſing exigency?

XXI. After ſtating a variety of different opinions of Theologians, and other eminent men upon caſes of this ſort, which I ſhall omit to inſert, as I apprehend they would rather ſeem tedious, than afford either entertainment or inſtruction to the reader; Father Feyjoo proceeds thus: But I do not chuſe to take any part in this queſtion, as it would require more time to diſcuſs, than I at preſent have leiſure to beſtow upon it; and therefore ſhall waive entering into it, and returning to the ſubject of my diſcourſe, ſhall ſay, that admitting a man, upon being unfairly preſſed, cannot avoid diſcloſing a ſecret which has been confided to him, without telling a lie, thoſe

thoſe lies ought to be tolerated by human ſociety, and the puniſhment of them ſhould be left to God alone, for that a republic or ſtate is expoſed to no inconvenience from them; and that on the contrary, daily miſchiefs might reſult to it, by not preventing the evil effects, of the malicious, and vicious curioſity of men, who are impertinently fond of prying into other people's ſecrets. And he who makes theſe enquiries, ſhould blame himſelf for any impoſition or deceit that happens in conſequence of them, and not the perſon who told the lie, for the inquiſitor is the aggreſſor in this caſe, as he may be termed an invader of other peoples ſecrets, which he had improperly, and without any right ſo to do, taken upon him officiouſly to pry into.

ON

THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY,

AND

National Prejudice or Prepoſſeſſion.

SECT. I.

I. I Seek in men that love of their country, which I find ſo much celebrated in books, but I do not meet with it; I mean that juſt, noble and virtuous love, which they owe to their country. In ſome, I ſee no kind of affection for their country at all; in others, I perceive only a criminal affection, which is vulgarly called national prejudice.

II.

II. I do not deny, that by turning over hiſtory, you will find thouſands of victims ſacrificed to this idol. What war is undertaken without this ſpecious pretence? What field do we ſee drenched with human blood, that poſterity, over the carcaſes from whence it flowed, has not fixed the honourable inſcription, that thoſe men loſt their lives for the good of their country? But if we examine things critically, we ſhall find the world is much miſtaken, in thinking there have been ſo many, or ſo refined ſacrifices made to this imaginary deity. Let us figure to ourſelves a republic, armed for a war, undertaken on the principle of a juſt defence; and let us alſo proceed to examine by the light of reaſon, the impulſe which animates men's hearts to expoſe their lives in the quarrel. Among the private men, ſome inliſt for the pay and the plunder, others with the hopes of bettering their fortunes, and acquiring military honour and preferment; but the greateſt part, from motives of obedience, and fear of the Prince or the General. He who commands the army, is inſtigated by his intereſt and his glory. The Prince, or Chief Magiſtrate, who is at a diſtance from the danger, acts more for the ſake of maintaining his dominion, than for ſupporting the republic. Now admitting that all theſe people ſhould find it more for their intereſt to retire to their houſes,

than to defend the walls, you would hardly ſee ten men left on the ramparts.

III. Even thoſe feats of proweſs of the antients, which are ſo blazoned and immortalized by fame, as the ultimate exertions of zeal for the public good, were more probably generated by ambition, and the love of glory, than by the love of their country ; and I am inclined to think, that if there had not been witneſſes preſent, to have handed down to poſterity an account of their exploits, that from a principle of love to his country, neither Curtius would have precipitated himſelf into the pit, nor Marcus Attilius Regulus have ſubmitted to die a lingering death in an iron cage ; nor would the twin brothers, for the ſake of extending the boundaries of Carthage, have conſented to be buried alive. The incitement of poſthumous fame had great influence among the Gentiles ; and it might alſo happen, that ſome ruſhed on a violent death, not ſo much with a view of acquiring poſthumous fame, as from the mad vanity of ſeeing themſelves admired and applauded for a few inſtants of their lives, of which Lucian gives us a ſtriking example, in the death that was ſubmitted to by the philoſopher Peregrinus.

IV.

IV. Among the Romans, the love of their country, was so much in vogue and so prevalent, that it seemed as if this noble inclination was the soul of their whole republic. But what appears to me is, that the Romans themselves, on account of Cato's constant and steady attachment to the public, looked upon him as a very uncommon man, and as one descended from Heaven. It may be said of all the rest of them, almost without exception, that in serving their country, they sought more their own exaltation than the public utility. They gave Cicero the glorious surname of father of his country, for the successful and vigorous opposition he made to Catiline's conspiracy. This in appearance was a great merit, although in reality it was but an equivocal one; for not only the success of Cicero's attaining the consulate, depended upon that fury's not carrying his point, but his life also; for it is true, that when afterwards Cæsar tyrannized over the republic, Cicero accommodated himself very well with him. The subornations of Jugurtha, King of Numidia, shewed abundantly, what sort of spirit influenced the Roman senate; which, contrary to the interest of the republic, tolerated in that penetrating and violent Prince, many grave and pernicious evils, because every new insolence he committed, was accompanied with a new pre-

ſent to the ſenators. He was at laſt brought to Rome, and detained there; and although he was ſo far from correcting or reforming his old practices, that within the city itſelf, he committed new and enormous offences; by the favour of gold, he was permitted to go at large, which in the delinquent himſelf begot ſuch a contempt of that government, that when he left Rome, after getting at a little diſtance from the city, he turned about, and looking at it with diſdain, called it *a venal city*, adding, that it would ſoon periſh, if any one could find money enough to pay the price of its ruin: *Urbem venalem, et mature perituram, ſi emptorem invenirit* (Salluſt in Jugurtha). The ſame thing, and even more pointedly, was ſaid by Petronius:

Venalis populus, venalis curia patrem.

This is a picture of the love of their country ſo celebrated among the Romans, and to which many at this day, judge they owed the enormous extenſion of the Roman empire.

SECT. II.

V. Our opinion of this matter differs greatly from that of the bulk of mankind, by whom it is generally believed, the love of their country is natural to, and tranſcendent in all men; and as a proof of it, they alledge the repugnance, which all, or nearly all men feel at abandoning the country

country in which they were born, to go and reside in any other whatever; but I find here a great equivocation, and that what men call the love of their country, is in reality, nothing else but the love of their own convenience. There is no man who does not leave his own country cheerfully, when he has expectations by going to another of mending his fortune; and examples of this sort are seen every day. Of all the fables that have been fabricated by the poets, there is no one appears to be more void of probability, than that of Ulysses's having preferred the dreary and unpleasant rocks and craigs of his own country Ithaca, to the immortality full of delights, which was offered him by the nymph Calipso, upon condition that he would come and live with her in the island of Ogygia.

VI. I may be told, that the Scythians, as Ovid testifies, fled from the delicacies of Rome, to the asperities of their own frozen soil; that the Laplanders, maugre all the conveniences and accommodations that were offered them at Vienna, sighed to return to their own poor steril country; and that but a few years ago, a Canadian savage who was brought to Paris, where he was furnished with every possible convenience, lived there in a seeming state of affliction and melancholy.

VII. I say in answer to all this, that it is true; but it is also true, that these men live with more convenience to themselves in Scythia, in Lapland, and in Canada, than in Vienna, at Paris, or in Rome. Habituated to the food of their country, however hard and coarse it may appear to us, they find it both grateful and salutary. They are born among snow, and live pleasantly in the midst of it; and as we cannot bear the cold of northern regions, they cannot endure the heat of southern ones. Their mode of government, is suited to their tempers and dispositions, and although the form is but indifferent, they being reconciled to it by custom, believe that nature itself never dictated any other. Our policy seems as barbarous to them, as theirs does to us. Here, we think it impossible to live without a house or permanent abode; they look upon this as a voluntary imprisonment, and regard it as much more convenient, to be at liberty to change their habitation, when, and unto wherever it is most agreeable to them, fabricating it in the evening, for the use of the night and the next day, either in the valley, on the side of the mountain, or in the plain. The accommodation afforded by changing situations as the seasons of the year vary, is enjoyed among us, by none but the great and the opulent; among those barbarians, there is no one who does not enjoy it; and I must confess for myself,

myſelf, that I look upon a man's having power, whenever he pleaſes, to remove from a diſagreeable neighbourhood, and ſettle himſelf in one he likes better, as a very enviable happineſs.

VIII. Olaus Rudbec, a noble Swede, who had travelled a great deal through the northern regions, in a book that he wrote, intitled *Lapland Illuſtrated*, ſays, that the inhabitants of it, are ſo convinced of the advantages of their ſituation, that they would not exchange their own, for all the countries in the world. In fact, they poſſeſs ſome benefits or conveniencies in it, which are not imaginary, but real. That country, produces ſome regaling fruits, although they are different from ours; and the abundance of game and fiſh in it, all of them remarkably fine flavoured, is immenſe. The winters, which with us are ſo diſagreeably damp and rainy, are there clear and ſerene; from whence it follows, that the natives are active, healthy, and robuſt. Thunder ſtorms are ſcarce ever known in that region, nor is there a venomous ſnake to be found in all the country. They live alſo exempt from thoſe two great ſcourges of Heaven, war and peſtilence, their climate defending them from both theſe viſitations, it being as obnoxious to ſtrangers and the plague, as it is healthy to the natives. The ſnow does not incommode them, for by their natural

tural agility, added to art and contrivance they fly over the tops of the ſnowy heights like crows. The multitude of white bears with which the country abounds, ſerves them for amuſement and diverſion; for they are ſo dextrous in combating theſe fierce animals, that there is ſcarce a Laplander, who does not kill many of them in a year, although it is very rare, that a Laplander is ever killed by one of them.

IX. We may add, that the long nights in thoſe ſubpolar regions, of which they give us ſo horrible a repreſentation, are not ſo diſmal as they are imagined to be. They hardly experience total darkneſs there above one whole month; the reaſon is, becauſe the ſun deſcends below his horizon only twenty-three degrees and a half; and according to the computation of aſtronomers, the twilight may be perceived at eighteen degrees of depreſſion. Neither does the apparent abſence of the ſun continue for ſix months, as it is commonly thought, but for five only, for on account of the great refraction of the rays in that atmoſphere, you ſee the ſun, half a month before it mounts above the horizon, and for the ſame ſpace of time after it deſcends below it. Some Dutchmen in a northern voyage they made in 1596, being in the latitude of 76, were vaſtly aſtoniſhed at ſeeing the ſun fifteen or ſixteen days before they expected to

ſee

ſee it. In our diſcourſe on mathematical paradoxes, we explained this phænomenon, and ſhewed, that by attending to, and computing all things, thoſe who inhabit near the Poles, enjoy the light of the ſun for a greater portion of the year, than thoſe who live in the temperate and torrid zones; therefore what is ſaid of the equal repartition of light all over the world, although it is generally aſſented to, is not true.

X. We much admire, and live very happily on the aliments we commonly uſe; but there is no nation, to which the ſame thing does not happen. The people of the northern regions, find the fleſh of bears, wolves, and foxes, very ſavoury and regaling. The Tartars are fond of horſe-fleſh; the Arabs of the fleſh of camels; and the Africans and Chineſe, of that of dogs; for they both eat and ſell them in the markets as we do pig pork. In ſome regions of Africa, they eat monkies, crocodiles, and ſerpents; and Scaliger ſays, that in various parts of the eaſt, bats are eſteemed as regaling a diſh, as chickens are with us.

XI. The ſame that happens in point of food, happens with reſpect to every thing elſe; for whether it proceeds from the force of habit or the proportion of temperament or diſpoſition of each nation reſpectively, or that things of the ſame ſpecies,

ſpecies, have different qualities in different countries, which make them more or leſs commodious or agreeable; every one finds himſelf better ſatisfied with the things of his own country, than with thoſe of a foreign one, and he is therefore attached to it, becauſe he feels his own convenience better gratified there, and his partiality for it is not influenced by the ſuppoſed love of his country.

XII. The inhabitants of the Marian iſlands, which are ſo called from Dona Mariana of Auſtria, who ſent miſſionaries among them for their converſion, made no uſe of, nor had any knowledge of fire. Who, however, would venture to aſſert, that this element was not indiſpenſably neceſſary to human life, or that there was any nation whatever, which could ſubſiſt without it? But notwithſtanding this, thoſe iſlanders, without fire, lived contented and happy. They were not ſenſible of the want of it, becauſe they did not know it. Roots, fruit, and crude fiſh, were all their aliment; and ſtill they were more healthy and robuſt than we, for living to a hundred years of age, was very frequent and common among them.

XIII. The force of cuſtom is amazingly powerful, for it is capable of not only making the greateſt aſperities ſufferable, but by peoples being familiarized

liarized to them, it alſo cauſes their being ſatiſfied under them. He who was not well apprized of this truth, would be led to think what paſſed between Eſteban King of Poland, and the Peaſants of Livonia, incredible. This glorious Prince having obſerved, that theſe poor people were cruelly and very ill-treated by the nobles of the province, convened them together, and after condoling with them on their miſery, told them, he propoſed to make their ſubjection leſs ſevere and eaſier to be tolerated, by reſtraining the exerciſe of power in the nobility, within more mild and moderate bounds; but wonderful to relate, inſtead of ſeeming ſenſible of his benevolence, and embracing the offer he made them, they threw themſelves at his feet, and begged he would not alter their cuſtoms, with which, through long uſage, they were quite ſatisfied. What will not the force of habit conquer, if it is capable of making tyranny agreeable! Join to this, the circumſtance of the Muſcovite women, who are not happy or contented, unleſs their huſbands, without their giving them any occaſion for it, beat or cudgel them every day, regarding this unprovoked ill-treatment, as a token of their great love for them.

XIV. We may add to the foregoing remarks, that an uniformity of language, religion, and cuſtoms, makes the intercourſe with our countrymen

grateful and pleasing, as a diversity in those matters, makes the society of strangers awkward and unentertaining. Our particular connections and personal friendships also, tend to produce the same effect; and generally speaking, the love of convenience, and of that private ease and happiness, which every man finds in his own country, is what attracts him to, and retains him in it, and not the love of the country itself. He who should experience better personal accommodation in another region, would do as St. Peter did, who, as soon as he found himself happily situated on Mount Tabor, resolved to fix his lasting abode on that eminence, and to abandon for good and all the valley in which he was born.

SECT. III.

XV. It is also true, that not only real, but imaginary conveniences, have their influence, to promote an adherence to our country. Entertaining a flattering opinion of the country in which we were born, and preferring it to all others in the world, is one of the most common of all common errors. There is scarce any man, and among the lower class of people not a single one, who does not think his own country the first production of nature, and abounding in a three-fold proportion,

proportion, with all the goods ſhe diſtributes, either with reſpect to the genius or ability of the natives, the fertility of the ſoil, or the happineſs of the climate. To underſtandings of inferior rank, near objects are repreſented as by the corporeal eye, which although they are really leſs, appear larger than things at a diſtance. In his nation only, are to be found learned and wiſe men, thoſe of other kingdoms are hardly civilized; the cuſtoms of his country only are rational, and the language of it is the only ſoft and ſufferable one; the hearing a ſtranger ſpeak, as effectally excites them to laughter, as ſeeing Jack Pudding on a ſtage; his nation only abounds in riches, and the Prince of it is the only powerful one. At the end of the laſt century, when the arms of France were ſo prevalent, a junto of people at Salamanca being talking on this ſubject, a low Portugueze who was among them, with an air of great ſagacity and importance, made the following political remark: *There is certainly now no Prince in Europe capable of reſiſting the King of Francc, except the King of Portugal.* But what Michael Montona, in his treatiſe intitled *Moral Reflections*, relates of a ruſtic Savoyard, is more extravagant ſtill, who ſaid, *I don't believe the King of France, has the ability he is ſaid to have, for if that was the caſe, he would have negotiated with our Duke long ago, about making him his Major Domo.*

Nearly

Nearly after this manner, do all the low vulgar diſcourſe of the things of their own country.

XVI. Neither are many of thoſe exempted from ſo groſs an error, although it is in a leſs degree, who by their birth or profeſſions, are much ſuperior to the lower claſs of people. The number of vulgar who do not aſſociate with the common herd, but are intruded among people of underſtanding, is infinite. How many men of ſchool learning, whoſe heads were ſtored with texts, have I ſeen filled with the caprice, that our nation is the only ſeat of knowledge and learning, and that in other countries, they print nothing but puerilities and bagatelles, more eſpecially if they write in their own native idiom; nor does it appear to them, that any thing worth reading, can be publiſhed in French or Italian, which is in a manner maintaining, that the moſt important truths can't be expreſſed or explained in other languages, although it is certain, the Apoſtles expounded the moſt eſſential and ſublime ones in all tongues. But ſtrangers are ſufficiently revenged on us for this conceitedneſs, for in return for our conſidering them as people of little learning, they look upon us as illiberal and barbarous. Thus in all countries, you will find this piece of bad road to travel through, which is worn in holes and made rough, by the hacknied paſſage of carriages, loaded with the

the high notions and opinions the natives have of themſelves, and the low ones they entertain of ſtrangers.

SECT. IV.

XVII. The worſt is, that thoſe who do not think with the vulgar, talk like the vulgar. This proceeds, from what we call national paſſion or prejudice, the legitimate child of vanity, and emulation. Vanity teaches us, that we are intereſted in our nation being eſteemed ſuperior to all others, becauſe every individual looks upon himſelf as a partaker in the pre-eminence; and emulation cauſes us to view ſtrangers, eſpecially thoſe who are neareſt us, with a jealous eye, and alſo inclines us to wiſh their abaſement for our own ſecurity. From both theſe motives, people attribute to their own country, a thouſand feigned excellencies, although at the time they mention them, they know they are fictitious.

XVIII. This abuſe, has filled the world with lyes, and has corrupted the faith of almoſt all hiſtories. When the glory of his own nation influences him, you will hardly find an hiſtorian competently ſincere. Plutarch was one of the moſt impartial writers of antiquity; notwithſtand-

ing which, the love of his country, in matters that related to it, made him deviate not a little from his candour; for, as the illuſtrious Cano remarks, he aggrandizes the events and things appertaining to Greece, beyond their juſt proportion. And John Bodin obſerves, that upon examining his lives, you will find, although his compariſons between Greek heroes and Greek heroes, and between Roman and Roman ones, were rightly and fairly made; that when he came to draw the parallel between Greeks and Romans, he warped in favour of his own countrymen.

XIX. I have always admired Titus Livius, not only for his eminent diſcretion, method, and judgment, but alſo for his veracity. He does not conceal or diſſemble the failings of the Romans, when in the courſe of his hiſtory they come in the way of his pen; but on the contrary he lays them open and expoſes them; and what is more, at the hazard of offending Auguſtus, he highly extolled Pompey, and blazoned his character as preferrable to Cæſar's, which in thoſe times amounted to the ſame thing, as declaring himſelf a zealous republican. Notwithſtanding this, I obſerve a fault in this prince of hiſtorians, which if it did not proceed from want of his adverting to, or being aware of it, we muſt confeſs to be the effect of his paſſion for the marvellous. In the two

firſt

firſt ages of their republic, he gives an account of as many battles gained, and as many cities taken by the Romans, as would be ſufficient to compleat the conqueſt of a vaſt empire; but at the end of this time, we ſee that republic confined within ſuch narrow bounds, that few leſs ſtates are at this day to be found in all Italy, which is a proof that the antecedent victories, were not ſo many nor ſo great in the original, as they are repreſented to be in the copy.

XX. There is ſcarce one of the modern hiſtorians I have read, in whom I have not obſerved the ſame inconſiſtency. If they relate the events of a long war, they paint them ſo favourably to their own ſide, that the reader from thoſe premiſes, is induced to promiſe himſelf, that it will end in an advantageous peace, in which his nation will give the law to the enemy; but as the premiſes are falſe, the concluſion does not follow, and in the end, he finds things turn out quite contrary to what he expected.

XXI. I am not inſenſible, that during a war, ſuch ſort of lies may be politically neceſſary; therefore in all countries, they print Gazettes with privilege; I don't ſay of lying, but of colouring events, ſo that they ſhould not diſhearten, but ſeem encouraging to the people; and in their de-

ſcription of things, they imitate the artifice of Apelles, who painted Antigonus in profile, to conceal his being blind of one eye; I mean, that they diſplay the favourable ſide of events, and cover the adverſe one by a deception. I ſay, that policy requires this ſhould be done in Gazettes, to prevent the ſubjects being diſmayed by the adverſe ſtrokes of fortune; but in books that are written many years after the tranſactions, what danger is there in ſpeaking the truth?

XXII. The caſe is, that although none could happen to the public by it, the writer himſelf who ſhould make the attempt, would be expoſed to a great deal. The poor hiſtorians, ſcarce dare to do otherwiſe than diſguiſe ſuch truths, as are not advantageous to their countrymen. They muſt either flatter their own nation, or lay down the pen; for if they fail to do this, they will be branded with the epithet of being diſaffected to their country. I lament moſt heartily the lot of father Mariana; this very learned Jeſuit, over and above poſſeſſing the other talents neceſſary for an hiſtorian, was exceedingly ſincere and ingenuous; but this illuſtrious quality, which aggrandized his glory with ſound critics, diminiſhed it among the vulgar of Spain; they ſaid he had not a Spaniſh heart, and that his affections and his pen were inimical to his country; and as heretofore,

fore, the extreme rigour of Septimus Severus to the Romans, was attributed to his being of African extraction by his father's ſide, they imputed to father Mariana, a certain kind of pique againſt the Spaniards, and aſſigned as the cauſe of it, I don't know whether with truth or not, his being of French deſcent on the ſide of his mother. They would have had him relate events, not as they happened, but in ſuch a way as ſhould ſeem moſt pleaſing to them; and by ſuch as are fond of adulation, the man who is not a flatterer is regarded as an enemy. But the ſame thing which made this great man ill looked upon in Spain, gained him the higheſt eulogiums from the moſt eminent perſonages in Europe: the following, beſtowed on him by the great Cardinal Baronius, is ſufficient to eſtabliſh his honour and his fame: *Father John Mariana, a ſcrupulous lover of the truth, an excellent pattern and ſectary of virtue, a worthy profeſſor among the ſociety of Jeſus, and a Spaniard by birth, but void of all national paſſion or prejudice, in a learned and elegant ſtile, wrote a moſt perfect and faithful hiſtory of Spain.* (Baron. ad ann. Chriſti 688.)

XXIII. It is not only in Spain, that they would have their hiſtorians panegyriſts, for the ſame thing happens in other countries. The King of England, ſent for the famous Gregory Leti, to

write the hiſtory of that kingdom; but he having proteſted he would not take pen in hand, unleſs he was allowed to ſpeak the truth; the King, to encourage him to engage in the undertaking, aſſured him, that he ſhould be permitted to comply with this indiſpenſable obligation, upon which, he ſet to work, and compiled his hiſtory from the beſt authorities, and the moſt faithful monuments and records he could diſcover; but the natives having found reaſon to be diſſatisfied with many of the facts laid open in it, the King repented of the permiſſion he had given him, the copies were all called in by the procurement of adminiſtration, and the hiſtorian obliged to leave England, but ill recompenſed for his trouble.

XXIV. We Spaniards, complain much of the French authors, alledging, that from their hatred to us, they disfigure tranſactions which are glorious to our nation, and aggrandize in proportion, ſuch as are favourable to their own. This complaint is reciprocal, and I believe well founded on both ſides. When there have been frequent wars between two nations, you will always obſerve, that from the jealouſies and animoſities theſe have produced, the wars are conſtantly kept up in the writings of the authors of both kingdoms; for united as in the arrow, the feather follows the impetus of the ſteel.

XXV.

XXV. But as a tribute due to truth and juſtice, I can't avoid taking notice in this place, of an unjuſt accuſation, which has been fulminated by our countrymen againſt the authors of that nation. They ſay, that in relating the events of that kingdom in the reign of Francis the firſt, they are either ſilent, or deny the impriſonment of that King at the battle of Pavia. This complaint has not the leaſt foundation, for I have read accounts of this advantage of our arms in various French authors, and even in one of them, I ſaw celebrated the piquant anſwer of a French lady to King Francis, on the event of his impriſonment. The King in a ſatyrical manner, that inſinuated Time had robbed her of her charms, ſaid to her, *Madam, how long is it ſince you came from the land of Beauty?* To which the lady readily anſwered, *Ever ſince you came from the country of Pavia.*

XXVI. Where I find the moſt reaſon for the Spaniards to be angry with the French authors, is in their denying the coming of St. James to Spain, and in their refuſing to acknowledge that his ſacred body is depoſited there; but theſe pretenſions are more the offspring of criticiſm than national jealouſy, and never were material objects of emulation between the two nations. It is on the ſubject of the juſtice of wars, and the ad-

vantages gained in the profecution of them, that the pens engage with the moſt acrimony.

SECT. V.

XXVII. From this ſpirit of national prejudice, which prevails in almoſt all hiſtories, it happens, that with reſpect to an infinite number of facts, the things which are paſt ſeem as uncertain to us, as thoſe which are to come. I acknowledge, that the hiſtorical Pyrrhoniſm of Campanela was extravagant, who carried his want of confidence in hiſtory to ſuch a point, as to ſay, he doubted whether there ever was an Emperor in the world named Charles the Great. But with reſpect to thoſe events, which the hiſtorians of one nation affirm, and thoſe of another deny; and as there are many ſuch events, it will be prudent for us to ſuſpend our judgment, till ſome well-informed third perſon ſhall decide upon them; for, excited either by vanity or inclination, or led by condeſcenſion, every one goes on to flatter his own nation; the light of truth at the ſame time, being concealed from the eyes of the people, by the ſmoke of the incenſe of flattery, and the harmony of adulation, preventing their liſtening to the voice of reaſon.

XXVIII.

XXVIII. I ſhall not dwell upon thoſe authors, who carried the paſſion for their country, to lengths of extravagance, ſuch as Goropius Becanus, a native of Brabant, who very deliberately endeavoured to prove, that the Flemiſh tongue was the firſt in the world; and Olaus Rudbec, a Swede, who, in a book he wrote on purpoſe, tried to evince, that all which the antients had ſaid of the Fortunate Iſlands, the garden of the Heſperides and Elyſian fields, alluded to Sweden, pronouncing at the ſame time, his own country to be the ſource and perfection of European learning; and aſſerting, that letters and the art of writing, did not deſcend from Phœnicia to Greece, but from Phœnicia to Sweden; in the proſecution of which undertaking, he rummaged out, and expended in waſte, much hidden learning.

XXIX. It may alſo be proper to obſerve here, that another oppoſite vicious extreme, if it is not derived from, ariſes in conſequence of this prejudice. It has been remarked by ſome, of a modern Spaniſh author, that he has been guilty of unjuſtly denying to Spain, the honour of ſome glorious antiquities, with a view of being applauded as a ſincere man among ſtrangers. Perhaps this was not his motive, but that his criti-

ciſm was defective, for want of being tempered with a due mixture of the indulgent and the ſevere; and that to avoid the imputation of flattery, he ran into the oppoſite offenſive extreme; for

Dum vitant ſtulti vitia, in contraria currunt.

SECT. VI.

XXX. But the national prejudice of which we have ſpoken hitherto, is, if we may ſo call it, an innocent vice compared to another, which by being more common, is more pernicious. I ſpeak of that prepoſterous affection, which is not relative to a republic at large, but applies to a particular diſtrict or territory which we call our own. I do not deny, that by the term country, is underſtood not only the republic or ſtate of which we are members, and which may be called our common country, but alſo the province, dioceſe, city or diſtrict, where every one drew his firſt breath, and which on that account may be termed his particular country; but it is certain, the phraſe "love of our country," cannot be ſuppoſed to be confined or apply to our country according to this ſecond definition, but according to the firſt; for that is the ſenſe, in which it is recommended and enforced, by examples, perſuaſions, and apophthegms, of hiſtorians, orators, and philoſo-

philoſophers. The country to which we ſhould ſacrifice our lives in heroic arms, and which we ought to eſteem ſuperior to all our private intereſts, and as the creditor of all our poſſible obſequies and ſervices, is that body of ſtate, under which we are united in one civil government, and protected by, and bound to the obſervance of the ſame laws. Thus Spain is the proper object of the love of a Spaniard, France of a Frenchman, and Poland of a Polander. But this ſhould be underſtood, not to relate to ſuch people, who by migrating to, and ſettling in other countries, make themſelves members of other ſtates, in which caſe, the duty they owe to the country where they reſide, and are protected, ought to prevail over the affection they bear to the country in which they were born; and on this diſtinction, we ſhall in the ſequel make an important remark. The dividing of a kingdom into provinces or diſtricts, which is done for the convenience of adminiſtering juſtice, and conducting other buſineſs of government, has a material influence over, and is in a great meaſure the cauſe of dividing men's hearts.

XXXI. The particular or limited love of one's country, inſtead of being uſeful to a ſtate, is in many reſpects injurious and hurtful, becauſe it induces a diviſion in the minds of thoſe, who ought

ought to be reciprocally united for the ſake of making more firm and ſtable, the bond of common ſociety; and becauſe alſo this limited love of our country, is an incentive to civil wars, and revolts againſt the ſovereign power; for always when a particular province or diſtrict fancies itſelf aggrieved, all the individuals of it think the redreſſing the grievances of their injured country, an obligation ſuperior to all others; and finally, this confined principle, is an obſtacle to the right adminiſtration of juſtice among all claſſes of people, and in every judicial and miniſterial department.

XXXII. This laſt inconvenience is ſo common and apparent, as to be hidden from no man; and what is worſe, no one endeavours to hide it. This peſtilence of partiality to countrymen is, to the perverſion and corruption of good regulation, introduced and cheriſhed in the moſt barefaced manner, into thoſe departments which are veſted with the power of diſtributing honourable and uſeful employments. What ſanctuary has been able to protect or preſerve us, from the violencies of this declared enemy of reaſon and equity? How many hearts, inacceſſible to the temptations of gold, inſenſible to the allurements of ambition, intrepid, and proof againſt the threats of power, have ſuffered themſelves

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to be miſerably deluded and perverted, by national paſſion? Now-a-days, if a man is a candidate for an office or employment, he always reckons upon as many protectors as he has countrymen, who have any concern or intereſt in the diſpoſal of it. His pretenſions being unreaſonable, to a man ſwayed by national or provincial prejudice, are no objection, becauſe the only merit with ſuch a one, is the candidate's being his countryman. We have ſeen men, in other reſpects of unimpeachable integrity, who were much infected with this malady; from hence I have been inclined to conclude, that this is an infernal machine, artfully invented by the Devil, to ſubdue thoſe ſouls, who by all other ways are invincible; but alas, Achilles, although in one little part only, you are vulnerable, what does it avail you, if Paris, in ſhooting the arrow, has the ſkill and addreſs to hit that little part?

SECT. VII.

XXXIII. I do not condemn that affection for our native ſoil, which does not operate to prejudice a third perſon. Ariſtotle's employing his favour with Alexander, to procure the rebuilding the town of Stagira his native country, ruined

ruined by the ſoldiers of Philip, always appeared to me right and proper; and I condemn the indifference of Crates, whoſe city had ſuffered the ſame misfortune, for having, when Alexander aſked him if he was deſirous it ſhould be rebuilt, anſwered, *Of what uſe would the rebuilding it be, if there ſhould come another Alexander to deſtroy it afreſh?* How exceedingly and ridiculouſly affected was the behaviour of that philoſopher, who loſt to his countrymen ſo ſignal a benefit, for the ſake of a cold apophthegm? The misfortune was, that no other opportune ſentence of a contrary tendency occurred to the philoſopher juſt at that time; for if there had, he would have accepted the favour offered by Alexander. I have obſerved, that there are no people more unfit to be conſulted upon ſerious and weighty points of buſineſs, than thoſe who pride themſelves in ſpeaking with grace and elegance; for they are always apt to warp their opinion towards that ſide, on which a ſtriking expreſſion occurs to them, and provided they deliver themſelves with air and brilliancy, they do not embarraſs themſelves about a little falſe reaſoning.

XXXIV. I ſay once more, that I do not condemn any innocent or moderate affection for our native land. A love extremely ſoft and tender,

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is better ſuited to women, and more proper for children juſt riſing up in the world, than for men; and therefore I am of opinion, the divine Homer humanizes Ulyſſes to a degree of exceſs, when he paints him, amidſt all the regales of Pheacia, panting and pining, to ſee the ſmoke ariſe on the mountains of Ithaca, his own country:

Exoptans oculis ſurgentem cernere fumum
Natalis terræ.

This tenderneſs in one of the wiſeſt of the Greeks was very puerile; but with all, there is not much inconvenience in viewing with tenderneſs the ſmoke of one's country, provided the ſmoke does not blind the eyes of him who looks at it. Let him view the ſmoke of his own country; but alas, do not let him prefer it to the light and ſplendour of foreign ones; but this is what we ſee every day. He who by being placed at the head of an eminent department, has the diſpoſal of various employments at his pleaſure, can ſcarce find any perſons properly qualified for thoſe employments, but people of his own country. In vain it is repreſented to him, that theſe men are unfit to fill the poſt, and that there are others better qualified. He finds the ſmoke of his country ſo grateful an aromatick, that he would abandon for it the moſt brilliant lights of other places. O how ſtrangely does this ſmoke

blind

blind men's eyes! How wonderfully does it disorder and affect their heads!

XXXV. In truth, some sin in this particular with their eyes wide open; I speak of those, who with the view of forming a party to support their authority, promote as many of their countrymen as they possibly can, without paying the least attention to merit. This is not manifesting their love to their country, but to themselves, and is benefiting their own soil, as the earth is benefited by the labour of the husbandman, who does not bestow it with a view of improving the land, but of advantaging himself. These are open and declared enemies of a republic, because it being next to impossible, that one district can furnish people sufficiently qualified for such a variety of employments, the places are filled with unworthy objects; this, if it is not the greatest evil that can befall a state, at least ultimately disposes towards producing such an evil.

XXXVI. Of those, who exercise their passion for their countrymen, from a belief that they are the most deserving, I am at a loss what to say, although the motive of their partiality in this matter frequently appears to me a voluntary blindness; and if that is the case, they do not stand excused. When the excess of merit in the person

perſon ſet aſide, is ſo notoriouſly ſuperior to that of the man promoted, that it is manifeſt to all the world, except to him who diſpenſed the preferment, what doubt can there be, that he ſhut his eyes to avoid ſeeing it? or elſe, that the microſcope of his paſſion magnified to his view, the virtues of the man preferred, and the defects of him neglected? There is ſcarce any man, who has not a portion of good and bad in his compoſition; a man without fault would be a miracle, and one without a ſingle virtue would be a monſter. This made St. Auſtin ſay, that gigantic vice was as rare to be found among us, as eminent virtue: *Sicut magna pietas paucorum eſt, ita et magna impietas nihilominus paucorum eſt.* (Serm. 10. de verbis Domini.) What happens then is, that paſſion, being to chuſe between perſons of unequal merit, magnifies what is good in the bad man, and alſo what is bad in the good one. There is not a more unfaithful balance to weigh merit in, than that of paſſion and prejudice; but this is what men commonly uſe for the purpoſe. This cauſed David to ſay, men are falſe in their balances: *Mendaces filii hominum in ſtateris.* Job, to expreſs the greatneſs and power of God, ſays, that he is able to give weight to the wind: *qui fecit ventis pondus.* But I am not clear in what ſenſe to underſtand this, becauſe I alſo ſee, that the powerful of the

world in the balance of their paſſion, frequently give weight, and much weight to the air. What do you ſee in that perſon they have juſt raiſed? Nothing ſolid, nothing but air and vanity; but to this air, the great man who exalted him gave more weight, than to the gold of the other perſon who was his competitor for the office. But how was this done? Why, together with the air, he put earth into the ſcale, I mean the earth of the country in which he was born, and this earth weighs very heavy in that balance.

XXXVII. It happens in the contentions about occupying places, as it happened in the conflict between Hercules and Antæus. Hercules was much more valiant and powerful than the other, and threw him repeatedly to the ground; but the falls, enabled Antæus to renew the combat with redoubled vigour, becauſe by his contact with the earth, his ſtrength was doubled. The explanation of the matter is this: The antients under the veil of fables, concealed phyſical and moral maxims, and according to the heathen mythology, which was the term they uſed to ſignify the expoſition of thoſe myſterious fictions, Antæus was the ſon of the Earth. I believe, to make this fable apply to the preſent queſtion, we need ſay no more, than that as things go in the world, every country by its recommendation, gives

gives ſtrength to its ſons to overcome ſtrangers, although they are people of ſuperior abilities and vigour. Hercules lifted Antæus from the ground, and kept him ſuſpended in the air, by which means he found no difficulty in overcoming him. It were much to be wiſhed, that upon many occaſions, in order to determine the worth of people, they ſhould be examined diveſted of all favour and advantage they can derive from belonging to a particular country, for then it would be much better known to whom the preference is due.

SECT. VIII.

XXXVIII. Theſe men of national genius and prejudice, whoſe ſpirits are all fleſh and blood, and whoſe breaſts are always in contact with the earth, like that of a ſnake, do in a community, what the old ſerpent did in paradiſe, or as Luzbel did in Heaven, that is, introduce into it, ſeditions, revolts, ſchiſms, and battles. No fire aſſails a civil edifice ſo violently, as the flame of national paſſion, for it conſumes the very ſtones of the fabric, levels merit to the ground, and makes reaſon tremble, excites tumults and inſults, and makes way for the triumphant entry of ambition. Thoſe hearts which ought to be

cordially united by the bond of brotherly love, that bond being broken asunder, are miserably divided, and breathe nothing but vengeance and rancour. They form parties, inlist auxiliaries, and range their forces; but alas! in the end both the victors and vanquished are unfortunate and unhappy; the last lose the day and their patience, and the first by their conquest lose themselves.

XXXIX. In no words of sacred writ, is a call to a generous and virtuous life painted in more lively colours, than in those of the Psalmist, Psalm xliv. *Mark me, my Son, incline your ear, and attend to my words, you must forget your townsmen, and the house of your father.* But how greatly does he deviate from the precept contained in this admonition, who so far from forgetting his townsmen, and the house of his father, treasures up in his heart and memory, not only a house or a town, but a whole province or kingdom.

XL. Alexander, after he had conquered Persia, caused the Macedonian soldiers to marry Persian women, to the end, says Plutarch, that forgetting their native land, they should only esteem as their countrymen, those who were good, and regard as strangers those who were bad: *Ut mundum*

dum pro patria, caſtra pro arce, bonos pro cognatis, malos pro peregrinis agnoſcerent.

XLI. It is an apophthegm, of many learned and wiſe men among the Gentiles, that to a man of a ſtrong and liberal mind, all the world is his country. He who attaches his heart to that corner of the earth in which he was born, cannot look upon all the world as his country, nor himſelf as a citizen of it, and therefore the world ſhould deſpiſe him, as a narrow-minded and mean-ſpirited perſon.

XLII. I believe notwithſtanding, that there is ſomething figurative contained in the words of the ſentences before quoted, for mankind can never be underſtood to be exempted from the love and ſervice they owe to the republic of which they are members, in preference to all other ſtates and kingdoms; but I apprehend alſo, that this obligation ſhould not be confined to a republic, becauſe we were born within its limits, but becauſe we are members of its ſociety; therefore, he who has legally transferred his reſidence from the kingdom in which he was born, to another different one, where he has ſettled himſelf, and taken up his abode, contracts with reſpect to that kingdom, the ſame obligations he owed to that in which he was born and nurſed, and he ought

to regard it as the country to which he belongs. This is a diſtinction, that was not rightly underſtood by many great men of antiquity; and for this reaſon, we ſee in various authors of note, ſome actions celebrated as heroic, which ought to have been condemned as infamous. Demaratus King of Sparta, when he was unjuſtly dethroned and driven out of his kingdom by his own ſubjects, was kindly received and protected by the Perſians. He lived among them as a member of the Perſian empire, and owed to that country, beſides the obligation of gratitude, the duty of a ſubject; but mark the ſequel: the Perſians meditate a military expedition againſt the Lacedemonians; and Demaratus, who is let into the ſecret, communicates the deſign to the Spartans, in order that they might be prepared to defeat the enterprize. Herodotus, and many other authors, celebrate this action, as a commendable mark of the glorious and heroic love which Demaratus entertained for his country; but I ſay, it was a perfidious, baſe, unworthy, and treacherous act; becauſe in virtue of the antecedent circumſtances, the obligation of his loyalty, together with his perſon, had been transferred from Lacedemonia to Perſia.

XLIII. To conclude: I aſſert that if by reaſon of being born in it, we contract any obligation to

to a particular diſtrict or place, that obligation is inferior to, and ought to give place to every other chriſtian or political one whatever. Surely the difference of being born in this or that country is not ſo material, that this ſhould out-weigh every other conſideration; therefore we ought never to prefer our countryman only becauſe he is our countryman, except in thoſe caſes, where there is a perfect equality of all the other circumſtances.

XLIV. In ſuperior rulers, I don't even with this limitation, admit of any partiality, with reſpect to countrymen, for the following reaſons: firſt, becauſe without being perfectly diveſted of this paſſion, it is hardly poſſible in one inſtance or another, to ſhun the danger of paſſing from favour to injuſtice. Secondly, that in whatever manner, favour to our countrymen is limited and reſtrained, we are apt to fall into an acceptation or preferable choice of perſons, which by all thoſe who govern ought to be ſtudiouſly avoided. Thirdly, ſuperior rulers being truly the fathers of their people, their impartial affection for them ſhould be regarded as a conſideration ſo incomparably ſuperior to all others, that it ought to ſtifle and ſuffocate every kind of motive or inclination to preference, except that, which is derived from ſuperior merit. It would be ridiculous in a father to love one child better than another, only be-

cauſe this was born in his own town or city, and the mother was delivered of the other in a different place, in conſequence of her being from home on a journey. Therefore all thoſe who govern, ought ever to retain in their hearts and memories, the maxim of the famous queen of Carthage, who being informed that the Trojans, in conſequence of her marrying Eneas, entertained hopes of receiving ſuperior indulgences to the Tyrians from her, declared her perfect indifference of affection for them all as a queen in the following words:

Tros, Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur.

SECT. IX.

XLV. Having ſpoken in this diſcourſe, of the favour that may be ſhewed to a countryman in preference to a ſtranger, in caſe he is a man of equal merit, I thought it would not be improper here, to take notice of a moral point, which frequently occurs in practice, and in which I have often ſeen men miſtake, who in other reſpects are far from abſurd. Thoſe, who have annexed to their charges the diſtribution of honourable and uſeful employments, if they have not a perfect knowledge of the competitors for a vacant place, commonly avail themſelves of judicial or extra-judicial informations touching their merits. This

is a caſe that often occurs in the appointment to ſuch profeſſorſhips in many univerſities, as are in the diſpoſal of the king, or his ſupreme council; and in theſe inſtances, all the doctors of this univerſity of Oveido give their information to the royal council promiſcuouſly. It is to be ſuppoſed, that the perſon, who by his own or delegated authority appoints to the office, when two perſons of equal merit are propoſed to him, may very conſiſtently chuſe which he pleaſes; but with reſpect to the equality of merit, if he is a ſtranger to the parties, he muſt be guided by the informations he receives; and I have ſeen it very common, when they had no juſt reaſon for doing it, for people to give their information in favour of the man they liked beſt, and I have known them go ſo far, as not only to recommend him in preference to his competitor, but to repreſent him as the only perſon qualified to fill the vacant office.

XLVI. I call this an error, becauſe that in my opinion, ſuch an information upon the face of it, is injurious and void of all probability, which I ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate, by expoſing the malice and indirect proceeding of him, who between two equal ſubjects, Peter and John for example, gives his information in favour of Peter, in preference to John; for I perceive in ſuch behaviour,

haviour, not only one, but three ſerious and diſtinct offences. And firſt, he offends materially in his information, againſt the virtue of legal and impartial juſtice, which requires, that he ſhould repreſent people according to the true degree of their merits; but he ſwerves from this principle, who repreſents Peter as ſuperior to John, when he is not ſo in reality. Secondly, he behaves unworthily and unjuſtly to his Prince, by uſurping and preoccupying the right, which he has to chuſe between the parties. Thirdly, he is guilty of injuſtice to the ſaid John, who has a right to be repreſented according to the true degree of merit he poſſeſſes; and the propoſing him as inferior to Peter, when in truth he is equal to him, is doing him a manifeſt injury, which beſides prejudicing him with regard to other contingencies, renders it impoſſible in this inſtance, for him to partake of the king's grace of chuſing him in preference to his competitor Peter.

XLVII. From what has been premiſed, it may be inferred, that no contingent can ever happen, in which an informant or voter can conſiſtently ſhew favour, or be partial to any man, either in ſuch an inſtance as we have juſt mentioned, or in any other whatever, judicial or extrajudicial; becauſe as we have ſhewn, competitions between ſubjects of equal merit do not admit of it, and

if

if the merits of the competitors are unequal, the injuſtice of ſuch a proceeding is ſelf-evident; conſequently, to him who acts conſcientiouſly, all recommendations or ſolicitations are uſeleſs and improper; for he will not be biaſſed by friendſhip, country, gratitude, ſchool-alliances, religion, college-connections, or any other motives whatever. But the misfortune is, that in the practice of the world, we ſee but few examples of ſuch diſintereſted and upright conduct, even in caſes where the merits of candidates are unequal; but on the contrary, whenever an oppoſition is ſet on foot, the favourers of each candidate, are more occupied in canvaſſing ſuffrages, than in ſtudying queſtions, and more buſied in examining the connections of voters, than books of faculty. The abuſe is carried to ſuch a length, that ſometimes a man's acting with integrity is imputed to him as a crime. If a voter, who is ſolicited by a man of eminence, anſwers ingenuouſly, and excuſes himſelf from complying with what is requeſted of him; they ſay he is a rough, ill-bred, unpoliſhed man: if he does not yield to the ſolicitations of a benefactor, they call him ungrateful; and if he does not give way to the intreaties of a friend, they exclaim that he is callous to the feelings of friendſhip. Finally, it appears to me, that a more intolerable error than this cannot exiſt, for I have ſeen men much eſteemed by the generality

rality of mankind for their worth, who have always proſtituted their votes to theſe or ſome other temporal motives; but in the name of reaſon, can a man have any friend ſo great or ſo good as God? Is there any benefactor, to whom we owe ſo much as to him? How ſhall we reconcile this? Can he be called a grateful, an honourable, or a good man, who can be wanting in his duty to his beſt friend and greateſt benefactor, by acting unjuſtly to oblige a creature, to whom he owes this or that limited reſpect, and to whom alſo it is impoſſible he ſhould owe any thing whatever, but what he owes principally, and in the firſt inſtance to God? In vain I have urged theſe arguments in various private converſations; and I believe it is in vain alſo, that I now uſe them with the public at large; but if they ſhall not be effectual to amend the abuſe, they will at leaſt ſerve to diſburthen my mind, and give vent to my chagrin.

ON TRUE AND FALSE URBANITY.

SECT. I.

I. THE ſignification of the word Urbanity is equivocal, ſo that when you read it in different authors who lived in diſtinct times, you will find, the ſenſe they underſtood it in varied exceedingly. It's immediate derivation is from the Latin word *Urbanus*, which ſprings from *urbs* a city; but notwithſtanding this, it did not imply city in general; for it's meaning at firſt, was confined in an eſpecial manner to ſignify the city of Rome.

II. The

II. The reaſon of this was, that the word *urbanus* began to be firſt made uſe of, at the time that the Roman republic was in the zenith of it's proſperity, and this may be evidently inferred, from Quintilian's ſaying the word was new in the days of Cicero; *Cicero favorem, et urbanum nova credit.* It was then that the generical word *urbs* began to be uſed by way of eminence, to ſignify the city of Rome, on account of it's portentous grandeur; and with the ſame pace that Rome proceeded to domineer over the world, that ſort of culture which the Romans looked upon as an excellence peculiar to themſelves, proceeded to gain ground, and prevail in the city, and it was then that the Romans began to make uſe of the word *Urbanus*, to expreſs that compound ſort of cultivation that people received there, which ſeemed not to be confined to letters and ſciences only, but alſo to comprehend manner and punctillo alſo; *homo urbanus, ſermo urbanus*; and they uſed the word *urbanitas*, to expreſs thoſe accompliſhments in an abſtracted ſenſe.

III. But all authors did not give the ſame extenſion to the cultivation implied by the word *urbanitas*. Cicero, as we know from his book *de claris oratoribus*, reſtrained it to a graceful manner of ſpeaking, which was peculiar to the Romans.

IV. Quin-

IV. Quintilian thinks, the graceful manner of ſpeaking, which was peculiar to the Romans, and which conſiſted in their proper choice of words, their juſt application of them, and the decent tone of their voices, did not comprehend the whole, but was only a part of the accompliſhment that was meant to be expreſſed by the term Urbanity; and he aſſigns as another part appertaining to it, a tincture of erudition acquired by frequent converſation with learned men; *nam, et urbanitas dicitur, qua quidem ſignificari ſermonem præ ſe ferentem in verbis, et ſono, et uſu proprium quemdam guſtum urbis, et ſumptam ex converſatione doctorum tacitam eruditionem, denique cui contraria ſit ruſticitas.*

V. Domitius Marſus, an author who lived about mid-way between the days of Cicero and Quintilian, and who wrote a treatiſe upon Urbanity, which we are indebted to Quintilian for the knowledge of, ſtrikes into a new track, and maintains Urbanity to conſiſt in the keenneſs and force of a ſhort pithy expreſſion, which delights and inclines the hearer to be affected in the manner the ſpeaker could wiſh; and which is well adapted to excite either reſiſtance or aſſent, according to the circumſtances of perſons and things: *Urbanitas eſt virtus quædam in breve dictum coacta, et apta ad delectandos, movendoſque*

que in omnem affectum animos, maxime idonea ad reſiſtendum, vel laceſſendum, prout quæque res ac perſona deſiderant. (Quintilian ubi ſupra.) This definition is truly confuſed, and either explains nothing, or elſe, only explains a particular idea of the author, diſtinct from every thing that has hitherto been underſtood, reſpecting the meaning of the word Urbanity.

VI. The moral philoſophers, who have ſtudied and laboured to explain the admirable ethics of Ariſtotle, have conſidered this word as equivalent to the Greek one *Eutrapelia*, which Ariſtotle made uſe of to expreſs that virtue, which influences people to obſerve moderation in the tone of their voice, and their manner of expreſſing themſelves; as vicious extremes in theſe particulars, were apt to degenerate into ruſticity, or elſe, to be attended with ſcurrility and buffoonry; and theſe are the ſentiments of our cardinal Aguirre and count Manuel Theſaurus.

VII. But neither the word urbanity, nor that of ruſticity, which is its oppoſite, are made uſe of to expreſs at preſent, what they were underſtood to imply formerly. They call him now-a-days, an agreeable or well-bred man, and not a man of urbanity, who ſpeaks in a moderate and pleaſing tone of voice, and who expreſſes himſelf in decent and opportune phraſes; and he who

who delivers himſelf in an oppoſite manner, they do not call a ruſtic, but a coarſe or an unpleaſant man, or elſe deſcribe him by phraſes that are equivalent to thoſe.

SECT. II.

VIII. But to come to the acceptation that is given to the word Urbanity in theſe preſent times, and to the ſenſe in which it ſeems now to be generally underſtood in Spain, it ſignifies the ſame as *Corteſania*; but it is alſo true, that ſome give a more limited, and ſome a more extenſive ſignification to this phraſe. There are thoſe who underſtand corteſane, or courteous, to mean the ſame as well-bred, and to expreſs a man who in his commerce with other men, conducts himſelf with that decorum and ceremony which is preſcribed by good education. But amongſt thoſe who define things with propriety, I believe a courteous man is underſtood to mean one, who, by his natural diſpoſition, has a propenſity in all his words and actions, to conduct himſelf with that temper and manner, that makes his converſation and company agreeable and pleaſing to the reſt of mankind. Taken in this ſenſe, the Spaniſh word *Corteſania*, is equivalent to the French one *Politeſſe*, to the Italian one *Civilitá*, and to the Latin one *Comitas*.

IX. The derivation of the word *Corteſania*, is analogous to that of *Urbanitas*; for as this laſt was taken from the word *Urbs*, which according to the cuſtom then in uſe, was looked upon to be applicable to the city of Rome, which was then the capital of a very great part of the world, the term Urbanity was underſtood to imply, that ſort of cultivation which was then in vogue at Rome. Juſt ſo *Corteſania*, which in Spain is derived from *Corte*, or court, where it is generally ſuppoſed people behave with the greateſt politeneſs is underſtood to imply that ſort of good breeding which is generally practiſed there, and which we expreſs by the term *Corteſania*.

X. Underſtanding then the word Urbanity in this ſenſe, I ſhall define it in the follow-lowing manner; *that it is a virtue, or virtuous habit, which directs and leads a man both in his words and actions in ſuch a way, as makes his company and behaviour ſavoury, grateful, and engaging, to the reſt of mankind.* I ſhall not embarraſs myſelf, about whether ſome people think this definition too redundant, and that it ſeems to expreſs more than the term Urbanity implies. I adjuſt the definition to the interpretation I myſelf put upon the term, and to the ſenſe it is underſtood in, by thoſe who have treated of the ſubject in the moſt approved manner. Thoſe

who give leſs extenſion to the word, may, if they pleaſe, define the thing in another manner. Diſputes about definitions are mere nominal queſtions, and may not improperly be called playing upon words. Every one defines a thing, according to the acceptation he gives to the word that expreſſes it. If all men were to agree in the acceptation of a word, they would ſcarce ever differ in the definition of the object that is expreſſed by it; but the misfortune is, that the ſame word, excites in different people different ideas with reſpect to the meaning of it, and hence it is, that we ſee ſuch a variety of definitions.

XI. There is no doubt, but that all the particulars which compoſe a courteous carriage, ſhould lead to the attainment of a certain end, and ſhould be calculated to induce a certain manner in all a man's exterior behaviour, that ſhould be free from any mixture of the indecent, the offenſive, or the tireſome; but that on the contrary it ſhould rather be combined, with the grateful, the decent, and the opportune.

XII. Urbanity, like all other moral virtues, is placed between two vicious extremes; one of which it is apt to run into by exceeding, and the other by deficiency, or not doing enough.

The firſt is occaſioned by that exceſſive complaiſance which borders upon meanneſs; and the ſecond, by a rigid unſavoury reſerve, which has the appearance of ruſticity.

SECT. III.

XIII. As there is no virtue, whoſe uſe is ſo general and common as that of Urbanity, ſo there is no one which is ſo much counterfeited and falſified by hypocriſy. There are men who by ſeldom finding themſelves in a ſituation to exerciſe ſome particular virtues, are not very anxious about contriving means to imitate them by hypocriſy; but as Urbanity is a virtue that all men have opportunities of exerciſing, it is in the power of all men to counterfeit it by deceit. In truth, the hypocrites in the line of Urbanity are innumerable. All the world ſuper-abound with expreſſions of ſubmiſſion and profound reſpect, with obſequious offers, and with exaggerated profeſſions of eſteem, with ſmiling countenances, whoſe eſſence conſiſts in the command they have of their features, and in expreſſions of their lips, in which their hearts have not the leaſt ſhare; but on the contrary, are rather impreſſed with ſentiments, that are quite oppoſite to thoſe falſe appearances, and mock demonſtrations.

XIV. What

XIV. What, then, ſhould Urbanity be implanted in the heart? Without doubt it ſhould, or it is at leaſt from thence that it ought to derive its origin. If it was otherwiſe, how could it be a virtue? Reaſon tells us, that there is an honeſt complaiſance due from one man to another; and whatever reaſon dictates ſhould be eſteemed a virtue. But how can a lying, deceitful, and affected complaiſance be a virtue? It is evident it cannot. Urbanity then ſhould ariſe from the bottom of the ſoul. What does not do that, is not Urbanity, but hypocriſy that counterfeits it. An honeſt ſoul, ſtands in no need of fiction to aſſiſt it in the obſervance of all thoſe attentions which compoſe good-breeding, becauſe it is naturally inclined to the obſervance of them, left alone to itſelf. By an innate propenſity, accompanied by the light of reaſon, ſuch a one will never, upon any occaſion, be found wanting in the reſpect that is due to his ſuperiors, nor in the condeſcenſion he ſhould ſhew to his equals, nor in the affability he ſhould practice with his inferiors, nor in the good-will and gracious manner, with which he ſhould manifeſt to all men, both in words and deeds, theſe laudable diſpoſitions of his mind, and his love of human ſociety.

XV. I am not ignorant, that Urbanity is commonly underſtood to conſiſt in our external

teſtification of reſpect and benevolence to thoſe with whom we converſe. But if this teſtification, is not accompanied with the affections of the mind that are expreſſed by it, it becomes deceitful, and cannot poſſibly conſtitute that ſort of urbanity, which conſiſts in a virtuous habit; for in order to conſtitute ſuch a one, it would be neceſſary that the teſtification ſhould be ſincere, which amounts to the ſame as ſaying, that there is eſſentially included in urbanity, the exiſtence of thoſe ſentiments, which are expreſſed by courteous words and actions.

SECT. IV.

XVI. It is certain, that courts are the great public ſchools of true Urbanity; but they have mixed ſo much falſe in thoſe ſchools in the practice of it, that ſome have been led to think, it has nearly obſcured the true, of which, there ſeems to be ſcarce any thing left but the mere appearance. I believe, that without diſparagement to any other courts we ever heard of, thoſe of antient Rome, and modern Paris, may be eſteemed the moſt cultivated and polite that have been known in the world. After mentioning this, let us hear what two authors ſay who were well verſed in the practice of them both. The firſt is Juvenal, who clearly gives

as

us to underſtand, that he who could not lie and flatter ſhould withdraw from court, as there were no hopes of his getting any thing by his attendance there—

Quid Romæ faciam? Mentiri neſcio; librum
Si malus eſt, nequeo laudare, &c.

XVII. The ſecond is the abbot Boileau, a famous preacher at Paris in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. This eminent man, in a treatiſe he publiſhed, entitled *Choice Thoughts or Reflexions*, drew ſuch a picture of the court of Verſailles, as ſhews the Urbanity exerciſed there, had degenerated not only into diſſimulation, but even into treachery, although he admits, this was not the practice of every one who attended it. Theſe are his words:

XVIII. "What are the manners and beha-
"viour of a courtier? Why they conſiſt in flat-
"tering his enemies while he is afraid of their
"power; and in endeavouring to deſtroy them
"whenever he finds an opportunity for doing
"it; in being civil to, and making uſe of his
"friends when he ſtands in need of their aſſiſ-
"tance, and in turning his back upon them
"when they can be of no further ſervice to
"him; in ſeeking out powerful protectors,

" whom he fawns on, and idolizes exteriorly, and " frequently deſpiſes in ſecret.

XIX. " Courtly Urbanity, conſiſts in converting " diſſimulation and deceit, into the law or " rule of a man's actions; and repreſenting all " ſorts of people in ſuch colours, as your intereſt " dictates to you that you ſhould paint them; in " bearing ſlights and diſappointments with a " forced reſerve, and in awaiting with a ſtrained " appearance of modeſty and compoſure, the " favours of Fortune.

XX. " In a court, for the moſt part there is " no ſincerity, but almoſt every thing you ſee " there, is compounded of hypocriſy, deceit, " and malevolence; for example, in peoples " doing underhand ill offices to each other; " in contriving and laying ſnares that nobody " can be aware of; in bearing painful and mortifying diſguſts with a ſmiling countenance; " and in hiding under an apparent ſhew of " modeſty, the pride of Lucifer. It is very common in a court, for a man not to be permitted " to love whom he likes, to do what he ſhould, " nor to ſpeak what he thinks. It is neceſſary to " keep ſilence, in order to conceal your ſentiments, " and it is alſo neceſſary, to acquire a facility at " changing them. You muſt applaud, abuſe,

" love,

" love, abhor, ſpeak, and live, not according to " your own liking or inclination, but in confor- " mity to the arbitrary will and caprice of other " people.

XXI. " In what do the other manners and " mode of a man's conducting himſelf conſiſt in " a courtier? Why in diſſembling injuries, and " in revenging them; in flattering his enemies, " and in deſtroying them; in promiſing every " thing for the ſake of obtaining a dignity or " promotion, and in performing none of theſe " promiſes after he has got it; in repaying " favours with words, ſervices with plauſible " aſſurances, and debts with threatenings. At " court, they in the ſame breath implore and " execrate Fortune, applaud and deſpiſe merit; " and they alſo diſguiſe the truth, under an " oſtentatious appearance of frankneſs."

XXII. I believe there is a great deal of this ſort of diſſimulation all over the world; but it is natural to ſuppoſe, there is more of it practiſed in courts than in other places, for the incitements to the exerciſe of the before-mentioned vices, are generally ſtronger there, than they are found to be out of thoſe circles. There is not a paſſion nor an appetite, which there a man does not ſeem within reach of indulging,

dulging, and the objects which ſtimulate his deſires, ſhine forth there alſo in their greateſt ſplendor. The ambitious man fancies himſelf on the point of graſping honours, and the covetous one riches. The pretenders are vying with each other, the emulous contending with the emulous, and the envious with the envied. There the ſucceſs of the unworthy man, is ſtaring the neglected deſerving one in the face, and there the hands of the unſkilful artiſt fully employed, is exhibiting a diſguſting ſpectacle, to the able one who has nothing to do. And although a modeſt man who only views this at a great diſtance, or who only hears it from report, may reaſon upon it, and contain himſelf like a philoſopher, ſtill, when the mortifying proſpect is ſo near him, he can ſcarce ſpeak of the thing with temper, nor look upon it without falling into a paſſion. Thus it is almoſt morally impoſſible, that the hearts of the neglected men ſhould not be in a continual ſtate of fermentation, and their feelings in a tumultuous agitation, which is attended, not ſo much with the corruption of the men themſelves, as with that of their manners.

XXIII. But notwithſtanding all that has been alledged, we ought to conclude, that the two before named authors exaggerated the evils they meant

meant to reprehend. There is a great deal of bad in courts, but there is alſo ſome good to be found in them. The complaints that merit is neglected, are frequently nothing more than ſighs, which expreſs the grief and diſappointments of the heart from whence they proceed. The ſame man who laments political miſmanagement, while he is not permitted to go beyond the porch of the favourite houſe, when he has once gained admittance into it, begins to applaud his conduct, as he aſcends the ſteps leading to his levee-room; which is a proof that what he meant by miſmanagement and a bad conducted government, was ſuch a one as he got nothing under, and that what he underſtands by a good one, is ſuch a one as is advantageous to him. I have at all times heard the adminiſtration ill ſpoken of, but if we come to enquire by whom, we ſhall find it is chiefly done, by importunate candidates for places and employments, who are unable to attain what they never deſerved, and by litigious ſuitors, who were juſtly diſappointed of ſucceſs in their vexatious attempts, and who have been condemned to pay coſts, for commencing unjuſt proſecutions; by delinquents who have been legally mulcted for their miſdeeds; by ignorant people who have paſſed for men of underſtandinp, and who without having ſtudied in any other ſchool, than that of a coffee-houſe

houſe or a club-room, have preſumed to give poſitive opinions, upon the moſt important and difficult political and military queſtions; and finally, by weak people, who fancy that a good government can effect impoſſibilities, and that they are able to make all the ſubjects of a ſtate, happy and contented.

XXIV. Neither my genius, nor my deſtiny have allowed me to have much intercourſe with miniſters in high ſtations; but I have heard ſincere judicious men, who have known many of them well, ſpeak of them, in terms very different from thoſe they have been ſpoken of by the vulgar; and who have expreſſed a different opinion, both of their abilities and their intentions, from that which has been commonly propagated. Nor indeed is it credible, that princes, who generally know mens political characters better than private people, ſhould make choice of men for their miniſters, who are either incapable, or wickedly diſpoſed. If in caſe that they ſhould have been miſtaken in the opinion they entertained of them, and they find upon trying them, that they are not equal to conduct the buſineſs they have confided to their management, they may eaſily remove them. Thus it is utterly improbable to me, that a man deſtitute

of all merit, ſhould for any length of time, occupy a poſt of great importance, or have the ear of his ſovereign.

XXV. With reſpect to inferior miniſters, ſuch for example, as the principal people and magiſtrates in the provinces, I have had a great deal of experience, and proteſt, that for the moſt part, I have found them to be the beſt ſort of men to be met with in the country. I ſay for the moſt part, for it cannot be denied, that among this claſs, there are men to be found that are not very upright, and more than a little addicted to avarice. And by what I find the principal directors, lawyers, and magiſtrates in the country to be, I judge of thoſe about the court; and it ſeems natural to me, that the higher the ſphere of life is in which people move, they are the more ſtimulated by motives of honour, and leſs likely to deſcend to, or be guilty of mean actions.

SECT. V.

XXVI. Neither do I believe above half that is ſaid, of the neglect that is ſhewn to merit, and the abandoned ſituation it finds itſelf in at court; for the number of candidates for preferment

ment that may be found there, who have no merit at all, would upon enquiry appear to be very conſiderable, and that among them, you will meet with miſchief-makers, together with crafty, deceitful, and treacherous people, whoſe bad practices and characters, it is almoſt beyond the power of language to deſcribe; who are a ſort of imps of Satan, that for the moſt part ſerve the Devil without pay; and are a kind of galley ſlaves upon earth, who join to that ſlavery, being the galley boatſwains mates, or drivers of each other, whoſe oar, and whoſe ſcourge, are never out of their hands, for fear of their not being the firſt to arrive at the deſired port, and to accompliſh what they had in view. They are a ſpecies of idolaters of Fortune, who ſacrifice as victims to that deity, their companions, their relations, their friends, and their benefactors; and in the end themſelves alſo, or their own ſouls. What have we not to expect, or what have we not to fear from men of this character?

XXVII. I have been three times at court, but either from my natural incurioſity, or becauſe my ſtay there each time was but ſhort, I came away as ignorant of the practices of a court, as I went; and only took particular notice of one circumſtance, which is relative to the

the ſubject I am now treating of. I ſaw there, as in other places, Urbanity degenerate into that fulſome kind of ceremony, which may be termed cringing complaiſance. Accident furniſhed me with numberleſs opportunities of ſeeing ſuch things; and I have frequently obſerved two people who have uſually met together in their walks, and who, as I have been informed, had a tolerable indifference for each other, and even looked upon one another with reciprocal contempt; I ſay I have ſeen theſe people upon their meeting, ſtrive which ſhould excel in expreſſions of the love, veneration and reſpect they bore to each other. There was ſcarce a word came out of their mouths, which was not accompanied with ſome affected geſtures. Their eyes caſt glances of tender devotion on each other, and milk and honey flowed from their lips; but at the ſame time their affectation was ſo palpable, that any man of the leaſt diſcernment, might have perceived the diſagreement there was, between their hearts and their appearances. I laughed inwardly at them both, and I believe they alſo in their hearts, laughed mutually at each other.

XXVIII. I ſaw once two lawyers accoſt each other, with ſuch extreme expreſſions of tenderneſs, that a Portugueſe might have learned from them,

them, phraſes and geſtures for feats of gallantry. Both theſe people had places at court, on which account they could not avoid ſeeing each other pretty frequently; and there was no friendſhip between them; notwithſtanding which, their expreſſions were like thoſe of the moſt cordial friends, who had met together after a long abſence.

XXXIX. Having expreſſed to ſome people who were uſed to the court, how diſguſting this appeared to me, they anſwered that this was behaving in the court ſtile; but would not any one who hears this, conclude the court was nothing but a comic theatre, where all the world act the part of enamoratos; although to ſpeak the truth, it was only in ſpirits of inferior order, that I noted this amorous kind of farrago. In thoſe of more elevated hearts and minds, if they don't owe the thing to their own genius and diſpoſition, the education of a court produces a better effect, and exhibits people of a more noble behaviour, and ſuch as is proper to, and expreſſive of true urbanity. I ſay I have obſerved in ſuch, affability, ſweetneſs, expreſſions of benevolence, and offers of kind ſervices; all which were tendered with propriety, and in a decent generous manner, free from affected exaggerations, but animated at the ſame time,

and

and expreſſed with ſo natural an air, that the articulations of the tongue, were indications of the emotions of the mind, and the feelings of the heart.

XXX. Cato, as Tully tells us, ſaid, he wondered how two augurs whenever they met, could refrain from laughing at each other; as they both well knew, that their whole art was a mere impoſture. I think the ſaying may be applied to two fulſomely complaiſant courtiers; for I do not ſee how thoſe who have once ſaluted each other in this cringing and affected way, can upon meeting again, forbear laughing in each others faces, as they both know, that all the hyperbolical profeſſions of their eſteem, affection, and readineſs to oblige, mean nothing, and that this is all a mere common place farrago or rhapſody, quite deſtitute of truth or reality.

XXXI. I have ſaid, that in the leſſer towns I have viſited, I have not obſerved ſo much by a great deal, of this ridiculous parade. It is true, that you will find in them, ſome few people who walk about the ſtreets with incenſe in their hands, to offer up to, and idolize all thoſe, whom they fancy can be of any ſervice to them; but they are looked upon like what they are, not as men of worth, but as men of craft, whoſe in-

cenſe ſmells ſavoury in the noſtrils of none but fools. This ſort of behaviour about the court, frequently paſſes for good-breeding; but in theſe other places it is condemned as meanneſs.

SECT. VI.

XXXII. I am perſuaded that ſolid and brilliant urbanity, has much more of the natural than the acquired in its compoſition. A good, ſound, and unembarraſſed mind, accompanied with diſcretion, which is gentle without meanneſs, and is diſpoſed by genius and inclination to conform to every thing that is not contrary to reaſon, to which diſpoſitions there is annexed a clear underſtanding, or native prudence, which dictates to a man how he ſhould ſpeak and act, according to the different circumſtances and ſituations in which he finds himſelf, will, without ſtudying in any ſchool, acquit himſelf well, and appear agreeable in his commerce with mankind. It is true, that he will be deficient in his knowledge of thoſe forms, modes, and ceremonies, which people ſtudy in courts, and which are changed by caprice at every turn; but in the firſt place, natural advantages, which always are intrinſically valuable, and which will ever operate, will ſupply upon ordinary occaſions, the want

want of ſtudied forms; and ſecondly, a modeſt and candid confeſſion, to thoſe you happen to be in company with, of your ignorance of political forms and ceremonies, on account of your having been born and bred in the provinces where they are not generally practiſed, will be a ſufficient excuſe for your tranſgreſſion of thoſe forms, and even your doing this, will appear better in the eyes of reaſonable people, than your obſerving a ſtrained and ſcrupulous attention to them.

XXXIII. I have availed myſelf many times of this reſource at court; where I have made no ſcruple to declare, that I was born and bred in a ſmall country town; and that I early entered myſelf a member of a religious order, whoſe principal care it was, to ſeclude its ſons, and eſpecially in their youth, from all commerce with the world. That my genius naturally diſpoſed me to abhor buſtle, and avoid great concourſes of people; and excepting three years that I was a ſtudent at Salamanca, which may not improperly be termed three years of ſolitude, on account of the heads of our college not permitting their young members to have the leaſt intercourſe with ſecular people; I ſay excepting theſe three years, I have lived all the reſt of my life, in Galicia and Aſturias, which are provinces at a great

diſtance from court; and beſides all this, I have a natural diſlike to ſtudying ceremonies; but I am aware however, that not only the ſubſtance, but the forms of them alſo, are neceſſary to political ſociety; although I do not conſider that as an important form, which conſiſts of rules that are eſtabliſhed to-day, and changed to-morrow, juſt as whim and caprice dictate; ſome of which forms, or modes, prevail in one country, and are different in another; but I mean to ſpeak of thoſe forms or modes only, which reaſon dictates ſhould be obſerved in all times, and in all places. From the beforenamed declaration, it may be eaſily conceived how little I underſtand of courtly ceremonies; notwithſtanding which, with the aſſiſtance of the above frank confeſſion, I never found myſelf the leaſt embarraſſed, and I perceived, nothing I ſaid or did appeared diſagreeable to thoſe I converſed with, but that rather on the contrary, my natural behaviour ſeemed pleaſing to them.

XXXIV. Men of ſublime ſpirits and elevated underſtanding, poſſeſs a natural privilege to diſpenſe with formalities whenever they think proper; juſt as muſicians of great genius are allowed upon many occaſions, to depart from the common rules of their art; their doing which, hardly ever renders the muſic ungrateful to the ear;

ear; ſo men who are endowed with great talents, and diſplay a manifeſt ſuperiority in converſation, may diſpenſe with the ordinary and common methods of ſpeaking, without ever offending the ears of their auditors. Natural advantages ſhine forth with a greater luſtre, and are more ſolid, and more pleaſing than borrowed acquiſitions. Thus the world are well ſatisfied, to accept the firſt in the room of the laſt, and look upon themſelves as over-paid for the loſs of the one, by the introduction of the other in its ſtead.

XXXV. I was even about to ſay, that the eſtabliſhment of ceremonies of urbanity, was only calculated for people of middling or inferior geniuſes, and was meant as a ſuccedaneum for a diſcretion ſo ſuperior to that which the others we have mentioned poſſeſs, as to be capable of dictating of itſelf, the rule of deportment one man ſhould obſerve to another. I believe it happens in this, with very little difference, the ſame that it happens in all material movements. There are men, who naturally and without any teaching, have a grace and air in all their actions, in the motions of their hands, and their feet, in the bending their bodies, and inclining their heads, in the caſting downwards and lifting up their eyes, and in whom in every motion and geſture, all is done with ſuch a native

grace, that it enamours thoſe who behold them; and is that ſort of excellence, which is deſcribed by Tibullus to have been poſſeſſed by Sulpicia:

Illam quid quid agit, quoquo veſtigia flectit,
Componit furtim, ſubſequiturque decor.

I ſhould conſider it as very uſeleſs and unneceſſary, to preſcribe rules for the carriage and actions of ſuch ſort of people. Let precepts be kept for the uſe of thoſe who are naturally awkward, and let them be tried to ſee whether by art, they can mend this defect of nature.

XXXVI. It is only with reſpect to two ſorts of people, that no body is allowed to be exempt from obſerving ceremony, and they are princes and women. The firſt, from time immemorial, have inſtituted ceremonies as eſſential appendages to majeſty. The ſecond, from education and habit, have been taught, and accuſtomed to regard as the ſubſtance, what in reality is an accidental or viſionary entity, and even to prefer this viſionary or accidental entity, to the ſubſtance itſelf. Thus they are apt to diſeſteem the moſt diſcreet and agreeable man in the world, and to give the preference to one of much inferior talents, becauſe he is well inſtructed in faſhionable formalities, and is a ſtrict obſerver of them. I except from this number, the women of ſuperior abilities, who know as well as

any

any body, how to diſtinguiſh, and do juſtice to true merit.

SECT. VII.

XXXVII. Whether this native grace is an integrant part of, or an ornament to that urbanity, which ſeaſons and adorns men's words and actions, it is certain, that ſtudy and art can never ſupply the defect of it.

XXXVIII. This is that ſort of perfection, which Plutarch extols in Ageſilaus, and by the help of which, he obſerves, that although he was but a little man, and his figure rather contemptible, he in his old age, appeared more amiable and engaging, than any of the handſome young fellows. *Dicitur autem puſillus fuiſſe, et ſpecie aſpernanda; cæterum hilaritas ejus omnibus horis, et urbanitas aliena ab omni, vel vocis, vel vultus moroſitate, et acerbitate, amabiliorem eum ad ſenectutem uſque præbuit omnibus formoſis.*

XXXIX. This is that ſpecies of ſeaſoning of which Quintilian ſpeaks, when he ſays, that it makes the ſame ſentence ſeem to come better from the mouth of one man than another: *Inſit proprius quibuſdam decor in habitu, atque vultu, ut eadem illa minus, dicente alio, videantur urbana eſſe.*

XL. This is that kind of ornament, which Cicero called the colour, or blazon of urbanity, and inſtances Brutus, as one who was tinged with it in great perfection, but when he came to explain or deſcribe this blazon, he defined it to have conſiſted of a myſterious *je ne ſcai quoi*. Theſe are his words, taken from his dialogue *De claris Oratoribus: et Brutus, quis eſt, inquit, tandem urbanitatis color? Neſcio, inquam, tantum eſſe quendam ſcio.* Which laſt expreſſion, I am obliged to decipher by the ſentence *Je ne ſcai quoi*, as I can find no other that is equivolent to it. This native grace, or if you pleaſe to call it by the figurative name Cicero has expreſſed it by, this colouring of urbanity, is compoſed of many particulars. For example, the neatneſs of the articulation, the good tone, and the harmonious flexibility of the voice, the graceful attitude of the body, the well regulated movements of the action, the amiable modeſty of the carriage or manner, and the ſtriking or lively expreſſion of the eyes, are the parts, which conſtitute the whole of this grace.

XLI. It is eaſy to perceive, that all the beforementioned are gifts of nature; which can never be acquired by ſtudy, or ſupplied by inſtruction. Many people have hoped to ſucceed, by attempting

tempting to imitate thoſe, in whom theſe natural gifts are reſplendent, or to ſpeak more properly, are a part of their nature; but the very means they employ to give themſelves a pleaſing and agreeable air, cauſe them to appear ridiculous. That which is a grace in the original, has often an apiſh look in the copy. The imitation of natural endowments, ſeldom amounts to more, than a contemptible mock ſemblance of them. The affectation in theſe attempts is glaring and palpable, and all affectation is ſurfeiting.

XLII. I ſhall only ſtate two limitations, or exceptions, to the poſſibility of acquiring thoſe parts of gracefulneſs, which conſiſt in the poſition of the body, and the motion of its members; and ſhall admit in the firſt place, that theſe may in ſome meaſure be acquired by imitation; but when? why when people do not think of acquiring them, and are not ſenſible that they do acquire them; that is in their infant ſtate. It is then that nature is ſo pliant and flexible, that like ſoft wax, it may be eaſily molded to any ſhape, and made to receive any impreſſion; and hence it is, that we frequently ſee children in their ordinary actions and motions, greatly reſemble their parents.

XLIII. In Galicia where I was born, there are many people who underſtand Spaniſh perfectly

well, who ſpeak it in a drawling ſort of a way, and by leaving out now and then a letter, are apt to loſe the exact and proper pronunciation. Many have attributed this defect, to the imperfect organization of the tongues of the people of Galicia, produced by the influence of the climate; but it is no ſuch thing, for this vicious pronunciation, is derived from the bad habit of ſpeaking they contract in their infancy; and it is evident that it proceeds from thence, becauſe many Galician children who have been carried from home when they were very young, and have been afterwards brought up and educated at Caſtile, ſome of whom I have ſeen, pronounce the Caſtilian language with as much clearneſs and readineſs, as the natives of that province themſelves. It is not many years ago, that there was a celebrated actreſs, who was born in a ſmall village in Galicia, and who was carried to court by her uncle at four years old, and was there trained up to the ſtage, and who was greatly admired for her neat and ready pronunciation.

XLIV. The ſecond limitation and exception I admit to the poſition I have advanced, is, that both a vicious pronunciation, and an aukwardneſs of motion and manner, may be greatly corrected and amended, even after people are grown to a ſtate of maturity, and eſpecially when theſe defects

defects proceed from bad habits contracted in their youth. But in order to accompliſh this, there is need of great perſeverance and application. Even an inveterate bad habit, may be torn up by the roots by applying vaſt force and exertion to eradicate it; but when the fibres of the root, are inſerted into the profundities of nature, all endeavours are vain.

SECT. VIII.

XLV. Although Urbanity, with reſpect to the moſt brilliant and beautiful parts of it, which we deſcribe by the term gracefulneſs, as we have before obſerved, depends very little upon ſtudy or inſtruction, ſtill in all its ſubſtantial and eſſential parts, it admits of precepts and rules; ſo that any man who has been taught, or has made himſelf acquainted with them, may perfectly underſtand in what this appearance of Urbanity conſiſts.

XLVI. People very frequently, and in many ways offend againſt the laws of Urbanity; and I have ſeen thoſe, who have had a reaſonable good education, who have notwithſtanding that, been frequently guilty of offending againſt the rules of good-breeding. All thoſe imperfections, are

are the very reverſe of Urbanity, and which tend to make people diſagreeable in their converſation, and when in company with other men troubleſome or diſguſting in their behaviour; and this explanation, ſuits well with the definition we at firſt gave of Urbanity. But which are theſe imperfections? To this I ſhall anſwer, that they are many, and that I will proceed to point ſome of the moſt ſtriking ones out, which I apprehend will be the moſt inſtructive part of this eſſay, as enumerating the moſt glaring imperfections that tend to make people diſagreeable and troubleſome in converſation, will have the ſame effect, as preſcribing rules that ſhould be obſerved, to render their company pleaſing and deſirable to ſociety. As I proceed, the reader may accompany me, and examine his political conſcience as we go on, in order to diſcover whether any of the faults or failings I point out, are applicable to himſelf.

SECT. IX.

Loquacity.

XLVII. I conſider talkative people as a ſort of tyrants of converſation; for according to my opinion, who admit of a limited ſpecies of reaſon in brutes, talking is a faculty more peculiar to man than reaſoning;

reaſoning; and engroſſing all the converſation to a man's ſelf is a moſt arbitary proceeding. He who is always deſirous of being heard, and is impatient of attending to any one elſe, uſurps a privilege to himſelf, which ſhould be enjoyed in general by all mankind, as a prerogative proper to their being. But what fruit can be gathered from his torrent of words? None, except the tiring and diſguſting his hearers may be called a fruit, who after they are rid of him, make amends for the ſilence he had impoſed on them, by ſpeaking of him with deriſion and contempt. No time is worſe employed, than that which is conſumed in hearing talkative people; who are generally men without diſcretion or reflection, for if they had any, they would be more reſerved and keep within reaſonable bounds, in order to avoid making themſelves contemptible; and if they want reflection, they muſt want judgement alſo, and how can he who wants judgement talk with propriety? Or what benefit can reſult to thoſe who liſten to an extravagent prating man, except that of his affording them an opportunity for the meritorious exerciſe of their patience? Thus what Theocritus ſaid of the verboſe fluency of Anaximenes, may be applied to all talkative people; that he conſidered them as a luxuriant river of words, in the whole ſtock of whoſe waters, you could not find one drop of underſtanding: *Verborum flumen, mentis gutta.*

XLVIII.

XLVIII. What flows from ſuch tongues, may be compared to vomitings of the ſoul; or to the ſickly diſcharges from an unſound mind, which throws up before it has digeſted them, all the mental ſpecies or aliment it has received. They would have that paſs for a faculty or power of explaining themſelves, which in reality is nothing more than the want of a retentive faculty, or the power of keeping down what is in them. I would deſcribe this malady, by calling it a relaxation of the rational faculty; whereas others might be apt to ſay, that is not the caſe, for the ſpecies are thrown up, for want of ſpace to contain them in the part deſtined for their reception.

XLIX. Let no man plume himſelf too much, upon his being well attended to or applauded when he firſt begins to ſpeak in public; for this may be a favourable tempting breeze, that may encourage him to looſe the ſails of loquacity; but although it may be a favourable and a tempting one, it may be a breeze of but ſhort duration. Converſation is the food of the ſoul, but the cravings of the ſoul, are as various, as delicate, and as capricious as thoſe of the body. The moſt noble diet perſiſted in for too long a time, becomes fatiating, and loathſome. Thus the oratory of him, who for a certain ſpace ſhall be.

be liſtened to with pleaſure by his hearers, may become tireſome to them after a while, and they would not attend to what he ſaid, if he perſiſted in talking too long. The planets a man ſhould conſult the aſpect of, to know when he ſhould enter deep, or go but a little way into the gulph of converſation, are the eyes of his auditors; their pleaſing ſerenity, or lowering appearances, ſhould be the ſigns, that ſhould either encourage him to ſpread all the ſails of rhetoric and make great way; or elſe ſhould warn him of the hazard and riſque of proceeding any further, and that for the preſent it would be moſt prudent for him to lay-by, and wait a more ſafe and favourable opportunity to purſue his courſe.

L. But even theſe appearances may be fallacious and deceiving, and more eſpecially to perſons of high rank and authority; for the dependants of ſuch, not only flatter them with their tongues, but with their eyes alſo. Why ſhould I confine their adulation to the expreſſions of their tongues and their eyes, when they convert their whole bodies, and every limb and member of them, to inſtruments of deluſion and flattery? for with certain fawning movements, and certain myſterious geſtures of complaiſance and admiration, they attend to and applaud all that is ſaid or done by a man in power, on whom

whom they are in any ſhape depending. He at the ſame time, big with his own cleverneſs, and his chops watering with approbation of himſelf, with the drivel running out at both corners of his mouth, vents his oratory, and talks whatever comes uppermoſt, be it good or bad, in a full perſuaſion, that the words of Apollo of Delphos were never liſtened to with more attention, or more reſpect. But, unhappy man, how do you deceive yourſelf! for you tire every body, and you diſguſt every body; and, the worſt is, that thoſe who had been juſt liſtening to you with ſuch ſeeming applauſe, as ſoon as your back is turned, to relieve themſelves from the pain the forced tribute of their adulation to you gave them, vent themſelves in repeated burſts of laughter and deriſion at your folly. Great people may believe what I ſay, and be convinced that this is the way of the world; and they may alſo believe me when I tell them, that power in the hands of a weak man, only tends to make him appear more ridiculous; and that in the hands of a diſcreet one, if he is not extremely ſo, it tends in a great meaſure to caſt a blemiſh on his underſtanding.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Lying.

LI. What can be more obnoxious to urbanity than lying? What man of underſtanding is there whom it does not offend? Or to whom is it not diſguſting? and how can deceit ceaſe to be injurious? All the utility, all the delight that can be obtained by converſation, is deſtroyed by a lie. If he, with whom I converſe, tells me lies, of what ſervice will the information I receive from him be to me? for if I do not believe him, all he ſays will only tend to irritate me; and if I do, to fill me with errors. If I am not aſſured he tells me truth, what ſatisfaction can I have in attending to him? For his converſation, ſo far from affording me entertainment or inſtruction, will ſet my mind on the rack, and cauſe me to waver, and continue in a painful ſtate of doubt, and alſo perplex me, to find out reaſons for believing or diſbelieving what he has told me.

LII. Converſation is a ſpecies of traffic, in which mankind exchange informations and ideas with each other; and what better name can we give to him, than that of a cheat and a deceiver, who in this commerce, paſſes falſe informations

and ideas for true ones; and ought we not alſo to treat him as a prevaricator, who is unworthy of being admitted into human ſociety?

LIII. I have always been amazed at, and have always condemned, the indulgence and toleration that lying people find in the world. I have already exclaimed againſt this practice in my Eſſay on the Impurity of Lying, and muſt beg leave to refer the reader thither for a more full diſcuſſion of the point; but it has occurred to me ſince I wrote that Eſſay, that it is probable, this toleration may have ariſen from the great extenſion of the vice of lying; and that the number of thoſe who find themſelves intereſted in this indulgence, is much greater, than that of thoſe who find themſelves injured by it; and that perhaps they tolerate lying in one another, becauſe the toleration is neceſſary and uſeful to both parties. If the ſincere part of the world conſiſts of but few people, they cannot, without being guilty of great raſhneſs, attempt to wage war againſt the many; but they at leaſt may remonſtrate, and with temper complain of the diſguſt they receive, from the indulgence that is ſhewn to lying. I ingenuouſly confeſs for myſelf, that I look upon him as a man of but little ſincerity, who hears a lie with much ſeeming compoſure, and without expreſſ-

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ing any ſigns of his diſlike of it; although I muſt confeſs at the time I ſay this, that a frank manifeſtation of our diſlike of the practice, cannot ſo eaſily be ſhewn, unleſs it is to our equals or our inferiors.

LIV. There is a ſpecies of lie, that paſſes in the world for humour and pleaſantry, which I would puniſh as a crime. Whenever there happens to be a perſon in company who is noted for being an exceeding credulous man, it frequently happens, that ſome one or other tells a very incredible ſtory, for the ſake of expoſing the eaſy faith of ſuch a perſon, and of ſhewing, how apt he is to ſwallow abſurdities and improbabilities for truth. This is received as a piece of wit, and all the by-ſtanders laugh and applaud the ingenuity and invention of him who told the lie, and they all regale themſelves at the expence of the innocent credulous perſon. But I conſider this as an abuſe; for does the ſimple and eaſy credulity of any perſon give others a right to inſult him? admitting that his exceſſive credulity proceeds from the ſcantineſs of his underſtanding; are we peradventure only obliged to be civil to, and treat with urbanity, the diſcreet and the acute? If God has bleſſed you with more talents than another man, would it not be an inſolent abuſe of them, if you made

that perſon an object of your ſcorn, and played upon him, and treated him with the ſame deriſion and contempt that you would treat a monkey? Would this be uſing him like your neighbour? Or would it be applying your talents to the end and purpoſe, for which God was pleaſed to endow you with them?

LV. But the truth is, that exceſſive credulity proceeds more from goodneſs of heart, than from want of diſcretion. I have ſeen men who were very ſimple, and at the ſame time very penetrating. The ſame rectitude of heart, which excites a man of ſimplicity of manners to conduct himſelf without deceit, inclines him to think, that other people conduct themſelves upon the ſame principle. It often happens, that a lie is believed by one perſon becauſe he is an ingenuous man; and diſcredited by another, becauſe he is a ſimpleton. The caſe is, that the firſt, excited by the goodneſs of his diſpoſition, ſets himſelf about finding out grounds of probability for what he has heard, and by his penetration diſcovers ſuch. The other, who is only influenced by the dictates of his malice, never ſeeks after any ſuch thing; and although he ſhould ſeek after it, his ſtupidity would not permit him to diſcover it.

LVI.

LVI. I don't know whether the ſtory that is commonly told of St. Thomas Aquinas, which is, that he was made to believe there was an ox that could fly, be true or not, as likewiſe what was ſaid about his going out very anxious to ſee the ſpectacle; but this I know, that the rebuke which was couched in the anſwer he gave to thoſe who attempted to put that affront on his credulity, is well worthy of a St. Thomas; I ſay worthy of that great repoſitory of excellent virtues, both moral and intellectual, and worthy alſo the generoſity of heart, and exalted prudence, of that ſublime genius. The anſwer was as follows: *I could more eaſily be made to believe that there was an ox which could fly, than I could be made to believe, that mankind were capable of giving a lying relation of ſuch a thing.* What reproof could be more diſcreet than this! and what energy and delicacy is there contained in it! I eſteem this ſentence more, than I do any of thoſe which the ancient Grecians have recorded of their wiſe men. The ſublimity of it perſuades me, that it was the ligitimate child of St. Thomas's brain, and of courſe I can have no doubt, but the ſtory we have related was true. Thus we ſee, the greateſt diſcretion is not incompatible with, but may be eaſily reconciled to, and brought to unite with the greateſt ſimplicity.

SECT. XI.

Speakers of bold Truths.

LVII. As there are many people who behave with ill-breeding, from being addicted to relate falſehoods, ſo there are many others, who offend againſt the laws of urbanity by ſpeaking ill-timed and uncivil truths. I mean to hint at thoſe, who under pretence of undeceiving people, and of being their friends, out of time, and contrary to all the rules of decency, take the liberty of pointing out all their faults, and of ſpeaking their opinion, both of them and their conduct. This is an act of barbariſm, diſguiſed under the veil of honeſt ſincerity.

LVIII. We ſhall deſcribe theſe people, by giving the character and behaviour of Philotimus. Philotimus is a man, who at all times is dinning in peoples ears the profeſſions of his ingenuouſneſs, and declaiming till he is out of breath againſt adulation. He is ever dwelling upon his immutable love of truth, which he uſes as a ſort of coupling, to all the inſinuations he throws out againſt this or that perſon. He rudely tells a man his faults to his face, and then ſhelters himſelf under the pretence, that when an occaſion preſents itſelf for his doing it, he

he cannot refrain from ſpeaking the truth, for all the gratifications and indulgences the world can afford. If he hears any perſon praiſed, be he abſent or preſent, in whoſe conduct he conceives there is ſomething reprehenſible, he immediately gives vent to his ſpleen, and tells all he knows or has ever heard to that perſon's prejudice, and reproaches thoſe who have ſpoke well of him, with having flattered or been partial to him; and then immediately pleads his great love of truth, as a juſtification for what he has done.

LIX. What ſhall we ſay of ſuch a man? We may venture to pronounce, that there is much more ſtuff about him, than is neceſſary to form either a fool or a ruſtic; and that he is an extravagant babbler, who in his converſation obſerves no order or bounds; that he is a rude, yea a very rude unpoliſhed man, who does not underſtand the difference between ſervile adulation, and bare-faced effrontery. He being ſuch a ſort of man, why ſhould thoſe who hear him regard any thing he ſays? Or who can believe that he is capable of forming a juſt opinion of matters or things, who is ſo far infatuated as to overlook, or not attend to the maxims, which natural reaſon has ſo clearly dictated and pointed out? But if we were to admit that he does not

err in the conception he forms of things, we muſt at leaſt grant, that he errs in his mode of advancing his opinions, if he prefers them out of time, inopportunely, and without method. Has he peradventure a royal licence or patent, for being the ſuperintendent or corrector of other mens manners and conduct? But admitting for argument's ſake, that he is a man of as great veracity as he pretends to be, which by the way is what I very much doubt of; for my experience has convinced me, that if it does not apply to every individual, that fine ſentence is moſt true and applicable to the bulk of mankind, which I have read ſomewhere, although I can't remember in what author, and is as follows: *Veritatem nulli frequentius lædunt, quam qui frequentius jactant. There are no people lie more frequently, than thoſe who are always boaſting of their veracity.* I ſay, admitting that they are as ſincere as they pretend to be, does their being men of veracity give them a right to go about cudgeling, and breaking the heads of all the world? Truth, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, is the beloved companion of charity: *Charitas congaudet veritati*; and ſhould it then be uſed in a groſs manner, and ſo as to become offenſive and diſguſting? The truth of the Chriſtians, according to the deſcription given of it by St. Auſtin, is more beautiful than the

the Helen of the Greeks: *Incomparabiliter pulchrior eſt veritas Chriſtianorum, quam Helena Græcorum*; and ſhould it appear, or be characteriſed with ſo braſen a face, that it abaſhes and ſtares every body out of countenance?

LX. I confeſs that there are occaſions, on which every man is obliged to ſpeak the truth, although his doing it ſhould offend, or be attended with the reſentment of thoſe who hear him; but this licence ſhould only be taken in one of the three following inſtances, the vindication of divine honour, the defence of accuſed innocence, and the reforming or reclaiming your neighbour; and I ſuppoſe this laſt is the only motive, from which the ſpeakers of bold truths we have juſt been deſcribing pretend to act; but are they ignorant, that, although it will always be ſure to give offence, their manner of attempting this, can never accompliſh the reformation they affect to bring about? Nor can it be otherwiſe, for how can their ſour, overbearing, and arrogant behaviour, produce ſo good an effect? Or how can they expect, according to the ſcripture phraſe, that by ſowing thorns, they ſhould hereafter gather a harveſt of grapes?

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Tenaciouſneſs or Obſtinacy.

LXI. Not leſs tireſome than thoſe we have juſt been ſpeaking of, nor leſs interrupting to the pleaſure of converſation, are tenacious or obſtinate people. The ſpirit of contradiction is an infernal ſpirit, and at the ſame time ſo perverſe a one, that I very much doubt, whether there has hitherto been a remedy found out for the cure of thoſe who are poſſeſſed with it.

LXII. This brings to my mind the example of Ariſtius. He is a great frequenter of, and a buſy man in clubs and coffee-houſes, to which he is always running, in queſt of diſputations and argumentations. His opinion is his idol, and nobody muſt diſſent from it, on pain of experiencing the effects of his indignation; neither muſt any body prefer an oppoſite one, leſt he ſhould be treated by him as an enemy; and nothing can ſatisfy him, but a total acquieſcence in, or ſilent approbation of all he ſays. His influence in converſation may be compared to that of the ſouthern conſtellation, called *Orion's Belt*, which excites nothing but tempeſts. Nimbroſus Orion, as Virgil calls it. No ſooner does he enter a company,

company, than the ſerenity of a pleaſing tranquil converſation, begins to degenerate into a turbulent tumultuous noiſe. He begins with contradicting, the perſon contradicted defends himſelf, others take part in the diſpute, the fire of altercation lights up, and catches from one to the other like the contagion of a peſtilence, *Inſequitur clamorque virûm, ſtridorque rudentum*, till at laſt, the converſation ſounds like the talking of gibberiſh, and becomes a confuſed jargon and noiſe, ſo that the company can neither hear or underſtand each other. All this miſchief in political ſociety, may be, and frequently is introduced by a tenacious and obſtinate man. Nor is this malady ever to be cured; for you can more eaſily turn the ſtream of a rapid river, and make it run back contrary to its courſe, than force him to give up an opinion he has once advanced.

SECT. XIII.

Exceſſive Gravity.

XLIII. Opportune cheerfulneſs, is the moſt ſavoury ſeaſoner of converſation, and has ſo great a ſhare in true urbanity, that ſome, as we obſerved before, have conſidered it as the moſt eſſential part of it; for, when introduced with propriety, it produces the moſt deſirable effects,

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as it enlivens both the ſpeakers and the auditors, conciliates their good-will to each other, and affords a relaxation to the mind, after it has been fatigued with ſtudy, or any ſerious occupation. It was on this account, that the moral gentiles, and even the chriſtians alſo, placed cheerfulneſs among the number of moral virtues. Hear what Saint Thomas ſays on this head, in l. 2. quæſt. 168. art. 2. after declaring cheerfulneſs to be a virtue, he deſcribes the delight that reſults from it, not only to be uſeful, but neceſſary alſo for the purpoſe of giving eaſe and relaxation to the ſoul: *Hujuſmodi autem dicta, vel facta, in quibus non quæritur niſi delectatio animalis, vocantur ludicra vel jocoſa. Et ideo neceſſe eſt talibus interdum uti, quaſi ad quandam animæ quietem.*

LXIV. Men who are always grave, may be termed a ſort of entities between men and ſtatues. Riſibility being a property or quality inſeparable from reaſon, he who denies himſelf the pleaſure of laughing, degrades himſelf below the degree of a rational animal. Fools, are apt to eſteem ſuch people as men of ſenſe, judgment, and mature underſtanding. But is a man's deporting himſelf with the dryneſs and rigidity of a ſtock or a ſtone, a proof of his underſtanding? No brute is capable of laughing; and ought a property that is common to every brute,

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to be conſidered as a deſcriptive mark of, and the characteriſtic of a man of underſtanding? I look upon ſuch a carriage, to beſpeak an obſtinate genius, and a man of a ſullen temper. The antients were uſed to ſay, that all thoſe who had ever entered the enchanted cavern of Trophonius, never laughed afterwards. If there is any truth in this ſtory, which many people doubt, it is probable, that the infernal deity who was conſulted in that cavern, inſtilled into thoſe who conſulted him this black diabolical melancholy.

SECT. XIV.

Diſguſting or unſeaſonable Jocoſeneſs.

LXV. But exceſſive gravity, is perhaps not more repugnant to true Urbanity, than unſeaſonable jocoſeneſs. Pleaſantry in converſation, can be diſagreeable but in three ways; by exceeding in the quantity of it, by indecency in the quality of it, and by its being deficient in point of nature.

LXVI. He who is always laughing and upon the gog, may be more properly termed a buffoon, than a man of good-breeding. No perſon makes himſelf more ridiculous, than one who is always laughing, and he who is always affecting

ing to be gay, is ever diſguſting; and a man likewiſe who acts the jack-pudding all his life, is a mere jack-pudding and nothing more.

LXVII. Cheerfulneſs may be alſo reprehenſible, by degenerating into ribaldry, or by being over ſatyrical. The firſt, is properly the language of ſtables and tippling houſes, and as I don't write for lacqueys, grooms, and coachmen, we ſhall paſs this over, and proceed on to the ſecond point. Thoſe who have a high opinion of their own talents, are very frequently guilty of this fault. I mean to ſpeak of thoſe who ſet themſelves up for dictators, but who ought more properly to be termed babblers and praters, but I do not mean to enumerate in this catalogue, ſuch, as may be truly termed men of underſtanding, but ſuch only as Horace ſpoke of, when he ſaid, that if opportunities occurred for indulging their ſatyrical vein, they made no ſcruple of laſhing their moſt intimate friends.

Dummodo riſum
Excutiat ſibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico.

Of thoſe, who according to the deſcription given of them by Ennius, could more eaſily retain in their mouths a hot iron, than a keen ſaying; theſe are a ſort of people, who ſeem to claim a right of making error paſs for ſterling gold, of converting comedy into tragedy, injurious treatment into good behaviour, and of converting

honey alſo into poiſon. Their tongues may be compared to thoſe of the lions, which are ſo rough and ſharp, that wherever they lick they take the ſkin off. They are alſo called hummers; and ſo they are, for like waſps, hornets, flies, and all other vile inſects of the humming kind, they the inſtant they have hummed, implant their ſting.

LXVIII. But let them make what parade they will of their abilities, they can never eſcape being noted for malignant or troubleſome people; and whether they are one or the other, all honeſt men ſhould either diſcard them from their company, or reſtrain them by threatenings. The Count de Amayuelas, whom I became acquainted with in my youth, ſaid to a gentleman of this kind, who had taken frequent occaſions to ſay rude and ill-natured things to him, under the pretence of being jocoſe, Friend Don N. I have bore with ſeveral indelicacies from you, and you may vent as many more upon me as you think proper, but let it be underſtood between us from henceforward, that for every indelicacy you muſt expect a ſtab. By which intimation, he took the ſting out of the tail of the hummer.

LXIX. There is a ſerious fault in hummers, and one that they very frequently commit, which

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is their exerciſing their banter upon common-place things, and general topics, and pointing their ſneers, for example, againſt the rank, or nation of the perſon they attack. I am obliged for this obſervation, to that great maſter of Urbanity Quintilian; theſe are his words: *Male etiam dicitur quod in plures convenit: ſi, aut nationes totæ inceſſantur, aut ordines, aut conditio, aut ſtudia multorum.* People of ſteril geniuſes, are the moſt apt to fall into this abſurdity, who being at a loſs what to ſay concerning men's actions or perſonal qualities, fall upon ſome common-place obſervations, reſpecting their condition, country, &c.

LXX. The reaſon why this ſhould be avoided is, becauſe among the multitude of thoſe who are comprehended in common-place and general obſervations, there may be more than a few of them, who may conſtrue the hum into an affront; and although they may not have been preſent at the converſation in which this happened, upon hearing afterwards what paſſed in it, may be excited to ſhew their reſentment againſt what they have been told was ſaid, which is a thing I have often experienced. And I have alſo ſeen this attended with not a little injury to common-place hummers, who have drawn on themſelves reſentments they were not aware of. But although there

there ſhould be no danger attending this practice, it ſhould be avoided from motives of equity; for notwithſtanding pleaſantry is in its own ſimple nature innocent, it is not right to exerciſe it towards him, who may fancy himſelf injured by it. Thoſe who are ſo tender and delicate, that they would feel as a hard blow, what to others would only ſeem a playful pat with the hand, ſhould never be ſo much as lightly touched with the finger, for if the lighteſt touch goes to their hearts, whoever touches them can't fail to wound them. It not being poſſible then, for thoſe who deal in general or common-place humour and banter, to avoid giving offence to many people, every one who would be thought a man of urbanity or good-breeding, ſhould abſtain from that practice entirely.

LXXI. Finally, all pleaſantry that is not natural is diſguſting. Thoſe who without genius attempt to be witty, ſoon grow tireſome, and make themſelves appear ridiculous. There is nothing more inſipid, than a man who is deſirous of making himſelf ſeem entertaining, by venting ſtudied conceits, and by aukward and forced endeavours to imitate people of natural humour. It is true, that they ſucceed in part of what they aim to accompliſh, which is the making other men laugh, but then they them-

ſelves, and not their wit, ſtand as the object of their laughter. If there happens to be a man in a town, who is remarkable and celebrated for his humour, and ſaying of good things, twenty or thirty others, will attempt to imitate and ſet themſelves in competition with him; but all their endeavours, will never enable them to exhibit more than a ridiculous mock copy of that perſon. Mankind don't care to be convinced, that in this and all other ſuch endowments, nature not only furniſhes the means, but does the whole executive part of the buſineſs herſelf. It is for the want of making this reflection, that thoſe who are the leaſt qualified for it by nature, attempt to imitate others, on whom ſhe has with a bountiful hand beſtowed the choiceſt qualities. The exceeding likeneſs there is between a man and a monkey, ſeems to me to be greater ſtill, if in making the compariſon between them, we begin with the man firſt. It has been inſiſted, that both in Aſia and Africa, there have been apes or monkeys found, who have the exact appearance of men; and I inſiſt, that in Africa, Aſia, and Europe, and in all other places, there are men who have the exact appearance of monkeys, and in effect, that they put on, or wear this appearance, by their attempting to imitate each other. There never ſtarts up an excellent original in our ſpecies, of

which you will not ſee innumerable affected copies; but then theſe are a ſort of copies, that never exceed a mock ſcare-crow imitation.

SECT. XV.

Oſtentation of Knowledge.

LXXII. Science is a treaſure that ſhould be expended with œconomy, and not ſquandered away profuſely. It is of great value to the poſſeſſor who lays it out ſparingly, but if ſquandered and made oſtentation of, it becomes trifling and ridiculous; and indeed upon a ſtrict enquiry, it will be found that they very ſeldom poſſeſs it, who boaſt or make parade of being maſters of it. They who know but little, are the only people, who in all places, are fond of expoſing their whole ſtock of knowledge to view. They never enter into a converſation, that without waiting a fit opportunity for doing it, they don't exhibit their whole ſcanty budget of informations. Between thoſe who are truly learned, and men of but ſlender literary acquiſitions, there is the ſame difference, that there is between merchants who keep great ſtocks of goods, and pedlars who go about with a pack. The firſt in their warehouſes, lay up large aſſortments of things, where all people may reſort,

and be furniſhed with what they have occaſion for; the others carry their miſerable ſcanty ſhop of wares at their backs, and there is neither ſtreet, alley, or corner, where they don't cry them about, and expoſe and offer them to ſale.

LXXIII. Some are ſo ſimple, as among all claſſes of people, to introduce, or as we may ſay lug-in by the head and ſhoulders, a converſation, on the ſubject of the profeſſion they were bred to. The abbé Bellegarde, tells a ſtory of a military man, who in a viſit he made to ſome ladies, without being aſked to do it by any body, ſet himſelf about relating very circumſtantially, all the particulars of a ſiege he had been employed in, which he did in all the technical terms of military art, taking care alſo, to mention the regiments and officers that aſſiſted at it, and to deſcribe minutely, all the manoeuvres both of the beſiegers and the beſieged, from the time of inveſting the place to the day of its ſurrender; which tedious relation, muſt without doubt have been very entertaining to the ladies. But Moliere's comic deſcription of theſe ſort of people, which he gives us in the character of a young practitioner in ſurgery, is more laughable ſtill; who in one of his firſt viſits to a lady he paid his addreſſes to, after having exhauſted all his compliments, in anatomical phraſes and chy-

rurgical terms of art, invited her to ſee the diſſection of a dead body, and expreſſed how greatly he ſhould be obliged to her for her company; for that he himſelf was to be the operator. This undoubtedly could not fail of affording a pleaſing entertainment to a delicate and tender-hearted lady.

LXXIV. One of the moſt eſſential inſtructions that can be acquired by true Urbanity, is that of learning upon all occurrences, to accommodate yourſelf and your converſation, to the genius and capacities of your company; and of leaving to the choice of others, the ſubject-matter of diſcourſe, and in following them in the purſuit of it, as far as they ſhall find it pleaſing and agreeable to carry it. He is not more abſurd and extravagant who talks to another on a ſubject or faculty he does not underſtand, than he, who talks to him in a language he is an utter ſtranger to.

SECT. VI.

Affectation of Superiority.

LXXV. The different behaviour of ſome people at their firſt entrance into a room, and after their coming to engage in converſation with

the company they find there, is very remarkable. At their firſt coming in, if the people they meet happen not to be ſuch as they are pretty intimate with, they ſeem over and above complaiſant, make moſt reſpectful congées, are very hyperbolical in their profeſſions of attachment and eſteem to every one they accoſt, and are very profuſe of their offers to oblige and ſerve them; but after a little while, they begin to draw themſelves up, to aſſume an air of gravity and conſequence, and in all their words and actions, to behave as if they were veſted with a ſenatorial, or legiſlative authority. Such a man begins to array himſelf with a habit of importance, and to appear on the theatre with an air of pomp and arrogance. He lays by the eaſy ſock, and aſſumes the buſkin. His *ſol fa* which commenced in a low tone in *e faut*, is raiſed in a very little time, to the higheſt note in *g ſolre*. His political ſtature grows to a gigantic ſize, and he begins to look down on all around him, and to treat all they ſay with that ſcorn and diſdain, which is generated by, and lineally deſcended from ruſtic pride.

LXXVI. Treating on this ſubject, brings to my mind a ſtory which Moreri tells of Brunon biſhop of Langres, who in the beginning of one of his paſtoral letters ſtiles himſelf *humilis præſul*, and

and afterwards in the body of it, assumes a majestic tone, and says, *nostram odiens majestatem.* Those who behave in this manner, must certainly lie under the delusion, that urbanity and modesty, were only calculated for exordiums, prologues, and salutations at peoples first meeting.

SECT. XVII.

Speaking in a magisterial tone.

LXXVII. Among the professors of literature, there are not a few, who make themselves unpleasant companions, by assuming an overbearing and dictatorial manner. With them every place is a school, every chair a professional one, and all their auditors their pupils. Conceited, and full of themselves and their science, and big also with the dignity of their office and degrees, they look upon those who have not gone through the schools, as people of an inferior species, whom they scarce ever deign to speak to, but with a frowning brow, and a contemptuous look. They always talk in a dictatorial tone of voice, and express themselves with the majestic authority of an oracle, and in their conversation with other men, seem to exercise the power of a chapel master, who regulates the tone the whole band are to sing and play in.

LXXVIII. I have known many, indeed very many, who were prepoſſeſſed with the error, that ſtudy augments the underſtanding. And is this an error? without doubt it is, for whether we ſuppoſe, that inequality of underſtanding or reaſon in mankind, proceeds from an entitive inequality of ſouls, as ſome have imagined; or whether we ſuppoſe it proceeds from a different temperament or formation of mens organs, which is the moſt generally received opinion; it will neceſſarily follow from theſe premiſes, that with the aſſiſtance of ſtudy, or without it's aid, the intellectual faculty, muſt ever remain equally and identically the ſame; it being certain, that ſtudy can never alter the organization or native temperament of man; and much leſs can it change the ſubſtantial entity of the ſoul. Thus after many years ſtudy, the reaſoning faculty can never be increaſed in natural ſtrength, ſo much as half a degree. The before-named argument demonſtrates it; but beſides this, my own experience has ſhewn me the thing palpably and clearly. I have ſeen people of great application to letters, who after conſuming a large portion of their lives in that purſuit, reaſoned miſerably on whatever ſubject they attempted to talk upon; and I have obſerved others, whom I have had frequent opportunities of ſeeing for

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a great number of years, and who were ſcarce ever without a book in their hands, who laboured under the ſame inability of reaſoning, and whoſe ideas were equally confuſed, and their comprehenſion juſt as obſcure at the end of that period, as at the beginning. Study aſſiſts people with certain informations, and furniſhes them with a variety of ſpecies or matter, by the help of which, they are enabled to make many deductions, which they could not have made without that aid; but the power or activity of the underſtanding, cannot be increaſed or enlarged by any ſuch means. A workman, who ſhould be furniſhed with many inſtruments of his art, which he was not poſſeſſed of before, would with this aſſiſtance, be enabled to do many things, which without their help he could not have executed; but this would not prove that the ſtrength of his arm was increaſed.

LXXIX. Even with reſpect to the particular faculty or ſcience men ſtudy, they never can get over, or paſs beyond the fence rail which nature has placed before them; they read much, converſe much, and treaſure up a great many ſpecies in their memories, but never collect them with any order, or ſeparate and apply them with any judgment or diſcretion, and never clearly penetrate or comprehend their uſes.

Thus

Thus one of theſe comes out from his ſtudies, like a learned man that is only ſkilled in perſpective, and capable of faſcinating the ignorant vulgar with falſe lights and ſhadowings; or ſuch a one as the common people call wells of ſcience, but they are only wells of muddy water, that is of no uſe or benefit to mankind.

LXXX. This being the caſe, which it moſt undoubtedly is, it is very clear and evident, that the faculties they have ſtudied, give them no right or pretenſions to the magiſterial air they aſſume on account of the degrees they have taken, and that the inſignia or outſide marks of thoſe honours and dignities, give them no juſt reaſon for affecting, or claiming any authority or ſuperiority, over the reſt of mankind. The moſt provoking part of this matter, and that which heightens the ridiculouſneſs of it to an extreme degree, is, that thoſe who for the moſt part are under the dominion of this vain preſumption, are profeſſors of inferior note; for thoſe who are really ingenious, and men of clear underſtandings, let themſelves be influenced by reaſon. I repeat again, that the profeſſors of little note, are thoſe who are oſtentatiouſly fond of enlarging the ſize of their little letters, and of making them all appear like capitals. They are thoſe, who from ſtudy extract a great deal of

ſmoke,

ſmoke, but little clear or luminous fire. Thus when they mix with the reſt of the world, they aſſume an air of ſuperiority over other men, and ſay a thouſand ſilly things, with as ſolemn and grave a face, as if all they articulated were profound apophthegms.

LXXXI. It may be thought that I exaggerate, but I do not; for the reader may believe me when I aſſure him, that I have known many, nay very many, who without any more merit, than that of having kept their terms at a univerſity for a certain number of years, and of having taken a degree, and being authorized to wear the inſignia of academic-dignity, treat with contempt every thing that is advanced by a lay man, and behave to him, as if he was a rational animal of an inferior order to himſelf. In whatever company ſuch a man finds himſelf, whether the converſation turns upon war, politics, or civil government, he with a ridiculous ſelf-ſufficiency, takes upon him to give his opinion, although it is in oppoſition to that of a man, who may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to underſtand theſe things much better than him. And what does he get by all this? He cauſes himſelf to be deſpiſed and derided, and to be pointed and laughed at for a blockhead.

LXXXII.

LXXXII. I can't omit mentioning another groſs fault, which theſe men of ſlender talents are apt to fall into; although it may with truth be ſaid, that it is frequently incurred by people of all claſſes; which is, being much addicted to criticiſe and cenſure the productions or abilities of others, who are better informed than themſelves. It is to be ſure very laughable, to think of a ſilly fellow, who runs about calling the reſt of the world fools; and to reflect, that he who does not know a word of ſcience, ſhould buſy himſelf with meaſuring by inches, the ſcientific talents of other men, which he hardly ever will vouchſafe to eſtimate by feet or yards, becauſe there are very few inſtances, in which he will admit their talents to arrive at thoſe dimenſions. Thus a bad preacher, will never acknowledge that he has heard a good ſermon; a bad taylor, that he has ſeen a ſuit of cloaths which were well made; or a bad ſmith, that he has ſeen a piece of work that was well executed, &c.

SECT.

SECT. XVIII.

Troubleſome or ill-timed viſits.

LXXXIII. There are ſome men, who by being over attentive and civil to their friends, become intolerable. I ſpeak of thoſe, who make viſiting an employment or occupation, and who are always exerciſing themſelves in that way, as if it was their profeſſion. Theſe are a ſort of people, who not knowing what to do with themſelves, or how to employ their own time, run about tiring and breaking-in upon the avocations of other people, who are engaged in moſt honourable and important occupations; they are a ſort of robbers of men's time, who ſteal from them that, which it is neceſſary for them to employ in their buſineſs; they are a ſort of knights errant, whoſe tongues inſtead of ſpears, are ever prepared for attack, and who buſy themſelves in doing wrongs, inſtead of redreſſing them; a kind of dealers in common-place phraſes, who go about like beggars from houſe to houſe; and who may be termed cheats in good-breeding, and ſuch, as would impoſe on the world vexation for obſequiouſneſs.

LXXXIV.

LXXXIV. Thoſe who think to recommend themſelves to the good graces of men in power, by a repetition of viſits, deceive themſelves greatly; for what merit can there be in keeping ſuch a perſon confined an hour to his room every third day, where he may poſſibly remain as uneaſily, as if he was ſitting in the ſtocks, and be deprived of an opportunity of taking ſome amuſement or recreation he is fond of, or elſe, of employing that time in ſome buſineſs he wanted to attend to? What moſt commonly happens in theſe caſes is, that the viſitor has no ſooner taken leave and turned his back, than the perſon viſited vents a thouſand curſes on his impertinence; and if there ſhould chance to be any one by to whom he can unboſom himſelf in confidence, he declares to him, that he never met with a greater ſavage in all his life.

LXXXV. I feel much for miniſters who are expoſed to this ſort of perſecution; for to the heavy load of their office that lays on them, may be added the ſurcharge of theſe tireſome viſits, the weight of which may poſſibly ſit more burthenſome on them, than that of the whole duty they have to do beſides.

SECT.

SECT. XIX.

Visits to sick people.

LXXXVI. On the head of visits to sick people, there is much to be said, as in making them, we should attend not only to the rules of good-breeding, but to those of charity also; and it is impossible, if we are wanting in the last of these obligations, for us to comply with those of the first. Sick people, both with respect to their souls and bodies, should be treated and dealt by with as much delicacy and caution, as you would handle an exquisitely thin vessel of glass. A sick body is affected by, and sensible of the slightest touch; and an afflicted soul, may be inquieted by such a sensation as cannot be defined.

LXXXVII. Visiting sick people, is not only an act of urbanity, but an act of tenderness and humanity also; but in order to constitute it such an act, it is essentially and absolutely necessary, that the visit should be so managed, and attended with such circumstances, as will afford relief and comfort to the sick person. But how many of these kind of visits are experienced by the poor sick? one may venture to assert, scarce one in fifty. The prudent

prudent part of mankind are but few in number, but the viſitors conſiſt of many. What effect muſt his viſits have on a ſick man, who tires and diſguſts one in health with them? Nor is it ſufficient, that he who viſits a ſick perſon is diſcreet, if his diſcretion does not lead to inſtruct him, when, how much, and in what manner a ſick perſon ſhould be talked to. To know when he ſhould be talked to, the phyſician, and thoſe who attend him ſhould be conſulted; how much, in what manner, and on what ſubject, muſt be determined and regulated, by the prudence of the perſon who viſits him.

LXXXVIII. The how much, is the point which viſitors moſt commonly miſtake. Sick people ſhould be but little talked to, even although the ſubject of the converſation is ſuch as they are fond of; for their attention to what is talked of, is apt to fatigue them, and to waſte thoſe ſpirits, which would be better employed in reſiſting the diſeaſe. Thus it in general is better to leave them in that ſort of half ſlumber, and languid quiet of mind, which by not being diſturbed or interrupted, permits all the ideas that occur to them to paſs eaſily through the brain.

LXXXIX.

LXXXIX. With regard to the manner they ſhould be talked to in, it ought to be ſuch, as by no means ſhould inquiet or diſturb them; and to prevent their being ſurprized or alarmed, it will be neceſſary to talk to them in a low voice. If loud talking is capable of cracking a head of braſs, what effect muſt it have on a glaſs one? They ſhould not be aſked many queſtions, nor ſhould they as little as poſſible, be put under a neceſſity of replying to what is ſaid of them, for from thence there would reſult two fatigues, that of reaſoning, and that of talking.

XC. The ſubject of the converſation with a ſick Perſon, ſhould in general turn upon ſuch things, as he was obſerved to be moſt fond of when in health; for with reſpect both to the aliments of the ſoul, as well as thoſe of the body, I am of opinion, that phyſicians and thoſe who attend on, or viſit ſick people, ſhould have regard to their appetites and deſires, and I am inclined to think, that with reſpect to theſe particulars, there are frequent miſtakes made, and eſpecially with relation to the aliments of the ſoul, for by making them grateful to people, there will ſeldom any inconvenience reſult, but having regard to doing this, may be attended with much uſe and benefit. Whenever an epidemical diſtemper prevails in a town or

country, it may not be improper now and then, to talk to ſick people on the ſubject of that diſorder; but in doing this, care ſhould always be taken to mention to them only thoſe who have been viſited with, and have recovered from the diſeaſe; and regard ſhould likewiſe be had, never to ſay a word of ſuch as have died of it; but I have known viſitors who were ſuch blunderers, as ſcarce to tell a ſick perſon any other news, than that ſuch a one, or ſuch a one is dead. This tends to make a ſick man very unhappy, for according to the logic of his melancholy, he is apt to conclude, that his death muſt be an infallible conſequence of that of the other perſons.

XCI. To theſe general rules, I ſhall add a remark on two miſtakes that are very commonly fallen into by thoſe who viſit ſick people. The firſt of theſe is, their beginning upon their entrance into the chamber of a ſick perſon, if there are three or four of them, to aſk him one by one, how he goes on, and how he finds himſelf. A man had need have the patience of Job, to anſwer ſuch a number of identical queſtions. Even in ſlight illneſſes, the pain and uneaſineſs it gives a man to anſwer the ſame ſtring of queſtions over and over again, is very evident and palpable. Therefore the method people ſhould purſue in their viſits to a man who is ſeriouſly ill, ſhould be, to ask in a low

low voice, how he is of thoſe who attend him. Or the expedient may be had recourſe to, that was practiſed by a friend of mine, who was of the ſame religious order as myſelf; who when he was once very ill, to avoid this inconvenience, ordered that every morning, there ſhould be written on a piece of paper, all the queſtions that are generally asked by viſitors, together with the anſwers to them; ſuch as what ſort of a night he had had, whether the pain in his head was abated, whether his thirſt continued, or whether he had taken any nouriſhment, &c. This paper he ordered to be ſtuck with wafers on the ſide of his chamber door, that thoſe who came to viſit him might read it, in order to prevent their fatiguing him with a number of thoſe queſtions.

XCII. The ſecond miſtake, is that of all the viſitors taking upon them to be phyſicians, and to preſcribe for the ſick perſon. This is an affectation practiſed by many; but when we conſider, how abſtruſe and how arduous a ſtudy phyſic is, and how long practice and experience it requires to obtain a competent knowledge of it, and that the greateſt ingenuity is found to be unequal to the acquiſition; I ſay when we conſider all this, muſt it not appear very abſurd and preſumptuous, for every one to pretend to take upon him the office. Thus, whatever a viſitor fancies would

be ſerviceable to the diſeaſed perſon, either as food, or medicine, he is continually teaſing the ſick man, and vexing the phyſician with his recommendation of. How often have I ſeen very prudent and able phyſicians, much perplexed to determine what they ſhould preſcribe; and at the ſame time, have obſerved a thouſand vain pretenders flouriſh away, and very ſelf-ſufficiently, and much to their own ſatisfaction, determine off hand, the medicine the patient ſhould take! How many times alſo have I ſeen theſe conceited wrong-headed people, with their importunities, drive an able learned phyſician out of his courſe, who had determined, after well conſidering all the circumſtances of his patient, to ſtand ſtill for a little while, and leave the diſeaſe to nature, in order to ſee which way ſhe would point; but perſecuted and overcome by the preſſing inſtances of the people we have been mentioning, he is brought to break this reſolution, and to ſet pen to paper, and preſcribe ſomething that he had better have deſiſted from ordering! Theſe ignorant folks, are ever exclaiming that nature ſhould always be aſſiſted. This is a grand aphoriſm; and one that all the world pretend to underſtand; but what ſuch men as we have juſt mentioned fancy to be aſſiſting nature, is in reality, and moſt commonly, cutting off her legs and arms.

SECT.

SECT. XX.

Visits of Condolence.

XCIII. All those who labour under any great misfortune, may properly be classed among the sick or infirm. Those things which we commonly call diseases, begin with the body, and from thence proceed to affect the soul; but the disease of grief, or sadness, begins with the soul, and from that is communicated to, and infects the body. To the afflicted with grief, all the visitors should act the physician, nor indeed are there any other physicians, who can afford them so much relief. The cure of the passions of the soul, do not appertain to medicine, but to ethics. Thus the discretion of a man who visits an afflicted person may afford him relief, when all the precepts of old Hippocrates can furnish him with none.

XCIV. But what most frequently happens in these cases? why, that the visits of condolence, add a new affliction to him who is already borne down by grief. It is necessary to leave a disconsolate widow, or a man who was exceedingly fond of his deceased wife, for a few days after their loss to themselves, both out of respect to

the formalities of the world, and to afford them an opportunity to vent their ſorrow. The natural alleviators of great grief, are abundant tears, impetuous ſighs, repeated exclamations, and extravagant geſtures. None of theſe can be indulged by any one, while he or ſhe is receiving a viſit; for people at ſuch times, are obliged to behave with as much compoſure, as a perſon who is acting a ſerious part in a play; and muſt confine themſelves to expreſſions of their grief, that are purely theatrical. Their words and their ſighs, muſt iſſue from them, in form, in order, and according to rule. Their boſoms are oppreſſed with an ocean of bitterneſs, and they are only permitted to vent it drop by drop. The doing of which if you conſider it, does not afford them the ſlighteſt relief; but on the contrary, the violence they put upon themſelves to conform to theſe regular demonſtrations of ſorrow, is rather an addition to their torment.

XCV. The cruel conſequences that reſult to afflicted people, by denying them the natural breathings of their ſorrow, and reſtraining them from venting their grief by all ways and means, is well explained by Picineli in his ſimile of a River, which ſwells the more, the more its courſe is obſtructed, *ab obice creſcit*; for ſo it is, that grief increaſes by being ſuppreſſed, and that the leſs vent

vent is given to it, the more apt it is to ſuffocate. *Strangulat incluſus dolor*, ſaid Ovid, who was well verſed in theſe matters.

XCVI. For theſe reaſons, I am of opinion, thoſe who have met with ſuch misfortunes, ſhould for a certain time, be only ſeen by their relations and moſt intimate friends, their familiar intercourſe with whom, would rather facilitate, than interrupt thoſe burſtings of their ſouls, which relieve the oppreſſions of their breaſts. The viſits of ſuch people, ſhould always be accompanied with expreſſions of friendſhip, and hearty tenders of kind and generous offers, and eſpecially, when the grief is increaſed by apprehenſions, that the conſequences of the loſs they have ſuſtained, will be a partial, or total privation of their temporal conveniences. And beſides thoſe intimate friends and relations, the viſits of ſome ſpiritual man, whoſe character for virtue and diſcretion is generally acknowledged and confeſſed, might afford great comfort in affliction, or to ſpeak more properly, the interpoſition of Divine Providence through him, might adminiſter greater relief in ſuch caſes, than could be furniſhed by the neareſt relations, and the moſt ſincere friends. And the beſt office that could be done to thoſe who are borne down with grief by their friends and relations, might poſſibly be

to procure them frequent visits from men of this character.

XCVII. I would have it understood, that I mean all I have just said, as applicable only to great and real griefs; for truly appearances in these cases are very uncertain and equivocal. If a father, a mother, a husband, or a wife dies, the nearest relation to the deceased party, manifests great tokens of being deeply affected. But who will believe that a husband can be greatly concerned for the death of his wife, who was known to be much fonder of other women than of her? or who can believe that a wife can be really grieved for the death of her husband, who always played the tyrant with her, and treated her like a galley-slave of matrimony? or who that a son can be feelingly affected by the death of a father, whose estate he has long panted to be in possession of? In such instances as these, multitudes of visits of condolance may not be improper; for condolences of compliment, are well suited to mournings of ceremony.

SECT.

SECT. XXI.

Letter-writing.

XCVIII. The writing letters with addreſs and propriety, is a very eſſential part of urbanity, and a matter upon which a great deal may be ſaid by way of inſtruction; but as the want of this may be ſupplied, by reading approved books of letters on various ſubjects, I would recommend to the reader the peruſal of thoſe of many eminent men, which have been lately collected and publiſhed, by that diligent and pains-taking perſon Don Gregorio Mayans y Sciſar, librarian to his majeſty, and profeſſor of civil law in the kingdom of Valentia; and would adviſe him to read them over and over again with much attention, as the beſt patterns of letters in our language. With reſpect to the writing of Latin letters, thoſe who deſire to be well inſtructed in in that, ſhould read attentively, thoſe of Don Manuel Marti Dean of Alicant, which have been lately publiſhed by the before-named Don Gregorio Mayans in two volumes in octavo; and thoſe of Mayans's own, which he publiſhed in one volume in quarto in 1732. I conſider the publication of theſe books, to have been of the greateſt uſe and importance, on account of the miſerable ſtate, to which the writing the Latin languagewas reduced in Spain, and eſpecially with reſpect to the familiar

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or epiſtolary ſtile. How often have I experienced, that whenever it became neceſſary for a religious ſociety or community, to write a Latin letter to Rome, or ſome other foreign kingdom, that there were very few men to be found among them, who were capable of doing it, unleſs it was in Latin ſtuffed full of Hiſpaniſims? And whenever it became neceſſary for them to converſe in Latin with any ſtranger, they ſeemed as much at a loſs, and as much embarraſſed, as if they had been obliged to talk to him in Arabic.

XCIX. People are apt to run into the ſame error in writing multitudes of letters, that they are in paying too many viſits; as letters may be termed a ſort of viſits in writing. Numbers of people are addicted to this fault, and their reaſon for committing it is, that they are in hopes by this means, to recommend themſelves to the good graces of thoſe they write to; but nothing can be more abſurd or ridiculous, than thinking, that by being troubleſome to people, you will gain their eſteem and affection; whereas the commiſſion of this fault, is moſt commonly attended with a quite oppoſite effect; and I have ſeen many, who by the frequency of their letters, have loſt the good-will of thoſe who had a regard for them, and whoſe friendſhip they would have continued

continued to poſſeſs, but for their teaſing them with a ſuperfluous repetition of letters. There are not a few, who write theſe ſort of letters, for the ſake afterwards of feeding their own vanity by ſhewing the anſwers to them, in order to manifeſt that they are eſteemed by, and honoured with the correſpondence of perſons of diſtinction. Theſe are not only troubleſome to thoſe they write to, but to thoſe alſo to whom they ſhew the anſwers to their letters; and what moſt commonly happens is, that inſtead of making themſelves appear reſpectable by doing this, they cauſe themſelves to be deſpiſed, and to look ridiculous; for there is ſcarce any one who does not regard with contempt, a man that runs about from company to company reading and ſhewing his letters, like a bad poet, who is always troubling his friends with a repetition of his verſes.

C. But what remedy is there for theſe impertinences? why no other, but diſregarding, and not giving anſwers to ſuch letters. Oh! but this would ſhew want of urbanity; no it would not, for I aſſert, that ſo far from it, it would manifeſt much diſcretion; and I conſider any man who maintains a contrary opinion, to be under a great miſtake. There is no one who thinks it ſhews want of urbanity, to deny your being at home to a man who perſecutes you with

with troubleſome viſits. Why then ſhould it be thought that a man is wanting in this reſpect, who returns no anſwer to theſe ſort of letters? It is very likely, that the writer of them will be much concerned and affected at not having anſwers to them; but if I can cure an indiſpoſition I labour under, by making the perſon who brought it upon me, ſwallow the bitter draught that it may be neceſſary ſhould be taken to accompliſh that end, inſtead of my taking it myſelf, why ſhould not I avail myſelf of ſuch a remedy? In ſhort, in caſes of this ſort, it is impoſſible to adopt any other method than that of giving no anſwer to theſe kind of letters; for attempting to do otherwiſe, would be attempting more than a man who receives great numbers of ſuch letters could find leiſure to execute; for I can ſafely declare with reſpect to myſelf, that if I had not taken a reſolution not to anſwer all the letters I received, my whole time would not have been ſufficient to write thoſe anſwers, nor my whole fortune, to pay the poſtage of thoſe that would have been addreſſed to me.

A

DEFENCE

OR

VINDICATION OF THE WOMEN.

SECT. I.

I. I Enter upon a ſerious and difficult undertaking; in the proſecution of which, it is not one ignorant vulgar perſon only I ſhall have to contend with, for ſetting about to defend all the women, amounts to pretty near the ſame thing as reſolving to offend all the men, there being ſcarce one among them, who, in order to give precedence to his own ſex, does not endeavour to bring the other into diſeſteem; and to ſuch an extravagant length, has this cuſtom of abuſing and vilifying the women by common conſent been carried, that in a moral ſenſe they load them with defects, and in a phyſical one with imperfections, and will

ſcarce allow them to poſſeſs a ſingle good quality: but they lay the greateſt ſtreſs on the ſcantineſs or limitation of their underſtandings; for which reaſon, after briefly vindicating them in other reſpects, I ſhall diſcourſe more at large on their aptitude, for attaining all ſorts of ſcience and ſublime knowledge.

II. The falſe prophet Mahomed, denied the women entrance into that ill-laid-out and abſurdly-diſpoſed paradiſe, which he had deviſed and appropriated to be poſſeſſed by his followers, limiting the felicity of the females to beholding from without, the glory and happineſs enjoyed by the men within; and it certainly muſt give the women great pleaſure, to ſurvey their huſbands in that ſcene of delights, compoſed all of turpitudes, claſped in the arms of other conſorts, which were feigned to be newly created for this particular purpoſe by that great artiſt in fabricating chimeras. Such a delirium being admitted and received by a great part of the world, ſufficiently ſhews, to what a degree mankind are capable of running into error.

III. But it ſeems as if theſe, who deny the women almoſt every kind of merit in this life, do not differ much from thoſe who deny them happineſs in the next. The moſt vile among the vulgar,

vulgar, very frequently repreſent that ſex as having a moſt horrible propenſity to vice; and would inſinuate, that the men are the ſole repoſitories of virtue. It is certainly true, that you will find theſe ſpecies of ſentiments loudly trumpeted forth in an infinite number of books; in ſome of which, the invective is carried to ſuch a point, as ſcarcely to admit there is one good woman, and aſſerting, that their bluſh, which has been generally conſidered as an addition to their beauty, and a token of modeſty, is the effect of the lewdneſs of their ſouls.

Aſpera ſi viſa eſt, rigidaſque imitata Sabinas
Velle, ſed ex alto diſſimulare puta.

Inſtead of replying to ſuch inſolent malevolence, the beſt method is, to treat it with contempt and deteſtation. Not a few of thoſe, who are moſt addicted to paint the ſex in the blackeſt colouring, have been obſerved to be the moſt ſolicitous about obtaining their favour and good graces. Euripides, who was exceedingly ſatirical upon them in his tragedies, as Athenæus and Stobæus inform us, was exceſſively fond of them in private. He execrated them on the theatre, and idolized them in the chamber. Boccace, who was exceſſively addicted to women, wrote a ſatyr againſt them, entitled, The Labyrinth of Love.

What

What was the myſtery of this? Why it moſt probably was, that, under the diſguiſe of having an averſion to them, he endeavoured to conceal his paſſion for them; or it might be, that the brutal ſatiety of the turpid appetite had brought on a loathing, which cauſed every thing appertaining to the other ſex to appear hateful and diſguſting. This ſort of abuſe, may alſo ſometimes proceed from a refuſal to lend a kind ear to entreaties and ſolicitations; for there are men ſo malevolent, as to be capable of ſaying a woman is not good, becauſe ſhe has refuſed to be bad. This unjuſt motive for complaint and reſentment, has ſometimes vented itſelf in the moſt cruel acts of revenge; an example of which, may be inſtanced in the unhappy fate of that moſt beautiful Iriſh lady madam Douglaſs, againſt whom, William Leout was blindly irritated, for having refuſed to comply with his lewd ſolicitations. To be revenged, he accuſed her of high treaſon; and procured the calumniating and falſe charge to be proved by ſuborned witneſſes. She ſuffered capital puniſhment; and la Mothe de la Vayer, who (in his Opuſc. Scept.) gives the relation, ſays, that Leout himſelf afterwards confeſſed the falſity of the accuſation, and the wicked means uſed to prove her guilty.

To

To this inſtance, may be added that of a moſt virtuous and beautiful French lady, the marchioneſs of Gange. Her two brothers-in-law made diſhonourable propoſitions to her, and ſucceſſively tried many arts, to prevail on her to gratify their baſe inclinations; but, notwithſtanding one of them, who was an extreme cunning man, and governed the marquis her conſort entirely, threatened to inſtil into the mind of her husband ſuſpicions of her fidelity, ſhe vigorouſly rejected their entreaties. Finding themſelves in ſpite of the menace, repeatedly repulſed with ſcorn and indignation, they reſolved to carry the threat into execution; and, having prevailed on the credulous husband to entertain doubts of his wife's honour and conſtancy, he conſented that the two brothers ſhould take away the life of the innocent marchioneſs; which they did in a barbarous and cruel manner, by firſt forcing her to ſwallow a poiſonous draught, but afterwards, doubting of the efficacy of the potion, they gave her ſeveral deſperate wounds. Although ſhe ſurvived both the wounds and the operation of the poiſon for the ſpace of nineteen days, and, by means of her relation of the matter, which was corroborated by other circumſtances, the officers of juſtice and the public were informed of the whole tranſaction, and meaſures were taken for apprehending the delinquents; yet they, finding themſelves diſcovered, fled the king-

dom, and escaped the punishment due to their crime. This tragical event happened in the year 1667, and is related by Gayot Piteval, in his fifth volume of Remarkable Cases.

IV. I don't deny that many of them are vicious; but, alas! if we were to trace their slips and irregularities to their source, I fear we should find them originate in the obstinate and persevering impulse or solicitations of our sex. He, who would wish or endeavour to make all the women good, should begin with converting all the men. Nature implanted modesty in the sex, as a fence-wall to resist the attacks of appetite; and it very rarely happens, that a breach is made in this wall by force applied on the inside.

V. The declamations against the women, which we read in some parts of holy writ, should be understood, as pointed and levelled at the perverse ones, as there is no doubt but there are such; and, although they should be supposed to have an eye to the sex in general, nothing could be inferred from thence; because the physicians of the soul declaim against women, as the physicians of the body declaim against fruit, which, although it is good, beautiful, and useful in itself, the abuse or excess of it is pernicious: besides this, allowance should be made for the latitude permitted to oratory

oratory of magnifying the riſque, when it is uſed to divert or turn people from dangerous courſes.

VI. Let them, who ſuppoſe the female ſex to be more vicious than ours, tell me, how they can reconcile this, with the church having in an eſpecial manner, beſtowed on them the epithet of devout? How with the words of many of the moſt grave and eminent doctors, who have declared it as their opinion, that there are more women ſaved than men, even having regard to the proportion, in which it is generally thought the number of females exceeds that of the males? which opinion, they do not, nor cannot found on any other thing, than their having obſerved in them a greater inclination to piety.

VII. Methinks I already hear, in oppoſition to our undertaking, that propoſition of much noiſe, and little or no truth, that the women are the cauſe of all evil; and, by way of proving it, the vulgar, down to the meaneſt and moſt contemptible of them, endeavour to inculcate at every turn, that La Caba occaſioned the ruin of all Spain, and Eve that of all mankind.

VIII. But the firſt inſtance is abſolutely a falſe one. The count Don Julian was the perſon who brought the Moors into Spain, but was not perſuaded

ſuaded to it by his daughter, who did no more than make known to her father the affront and injury ſhe had received. How unhappy is the lot of women, if, in the caſe of being trampled on by an inſolent raviſher, they are to be deprived of the relief of unboſoming themſelves to their fathers, or their husbands! The aggreſſors, in theſe caſes, would gladly deprive them of this relief and benefit; though if at any time an unjuſt vengeance ſhould be the conſequence of the complaint, the fault would not lie at the door of the innocent offended perſon, but would reſt with him who did the execution with the ſword, and the man who committed the inſult; and thus the whole blame and crime would be imputable to the men only.

IX. If the ſecond example proves, that the women in general are worſe than the men; by the ſame mode of reaſoning it may be proved, that the angels in general are worſe than the women; becauſe, as Adam was induced to ſin by a woman, the woman was ſeduced by an angel. It is not yet decided whoſe ſin was the greateſt, that of Adam, or that of Eve, becauſe the fathers are divided in their opinions; and, in truth, the excuſe which Cayetane makes in favour of Eve, that ſhe was deceived by a creature of much ſuperior intelligence and capacity to herſelf, is a circumſtance

ſtance that cannot be urged on behalf of Adam, and greatly abates her crime in compariſon with his.

SECT. II.

X. But paſſing from the moral to the phyſical, which is more applicable to our preſent purpoſe, we ſhall find the preference of the robuſt over the delicate ſex is a point ſettled, and any claim or pretenſions to equality on the part of the women is ſet aſide, and treated with contempt; and to ſuch a length has depreciating the women been carried by ſome, that they have not ſcrupled to call them imperfect, and even monſtrous animals, aſſerting, that Nature, in the work of generation, never intended to produce any thing but males, and that it was only by miſtake, or in conſequence of ſome defect in the matter or faculty, that females were produced.

XI. O admirable adepts in phyſics! It would follow from hence, that Nature conſpired to work its own deſtruction, becauſe, without the concurrence of both ſexes, the ſpecies cannot be preſerved. It would follow alſo, that Nature in this her principal work, is more frequently miſtaken than right; becauſe it is allowed, that ſhe produces more women than men. Nor when we ſee

females the offspring of parents who are healthy, robuſt, and in the flower of their age, can we attribute the formation of them to debility, want of vigour, or a defect in the matter; nor is it probable, that if man had preſerved his original innocence, in which caſe there would have been none of theſe defects, we ſhould have had no women born, and that the human lineage would have been kept up or continued without propagation.

XII. I know very well there was an author, who, for the ſake of indulging his malice, and ſupporting his envious inſinuations againſt the other ſex, ſwallowed ſo palpable an abſurdity. This was Almaricus, a Pariſian doctor of the twelfth century, who, among other errors, aſſerts, that, if the ſtate of innocence had continued, all the individuals of our ſpecies would have been males, and that God would have created them immediately himſelf as he did Adam.

XIII. Almaricus was a blind follower of Ariſtotle, inſomuch that all, or very near all his errors, were produced by concluſions, which he had drawn from the doctrines of that philoſopher; and, ſeeing that Ariſtotle, in more than one part of his works, gives it to be underſtood, that a female is a defective animal, its generation accidental,

tal, and out of the design of nature, he concluded, that there were no women in the state of innocence; and thus is comes to pass, that an heretical theology is very frequently occasioned by a mistake in physics.

XIV. But the great and avowed adherence of Almaricus to Aristotle, was rather unfortunate to them both; because the errors of Almaricus were condemned by a council held at Paris in 1209; and, in the same council, the reading the books of Aristotle were prohibited, which prohibition was afterwards confirmed by Pope Gregory IX. Almaricus had been dead a year when his dogmas were proscribed; but his bones were afterwards dug up, and thrown into a jake.

XV. This shews, that we should not lay any great stress upon the opinion of a few doctors, who, though they were in other respects discreet men, have asserted, that the female sex is defective, for no other reason, than because Aristotle whose followers they were had declared so; but they did not however proceed so far, as to precipitate themselves into the error of Almaricus. It is certain, that Aristotle's treatment of the women proceeded from spite; for he not only proclaimed with vehemence their physical defects, but was more vehement still in blazoning their moral

ones; some instances of which, I shall point out in another place. Who would not suppose from all this, that his disposition inclined him to shun the sex? But nothing was so opposite to him, for he not only tenderly loved two wives which he married, but his affection for the first, named Pythais, who, as some say, was daughter, others niece of Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus, carried him so far beside himself, that he frantickly offered incense to her as a deity. They also give us a relation of his loose amours with a little servant girl, though Plutarch does not incline to credit the tale; but in this business, the testimony of Theocritus Chio, who was contemporary with Aristotle, ought to have more weight than the opinion of Plutarch, who was much posterior to him; and Theocritus, in a lively epigram, lashed Aristotle for his obscenity. From this instance we may perceive, that men's seeming malignity to, and inveterate abuse of women, is, as we have observed before, frequently accompanied with an inordinate inclination for them.

XVI. From the same physical error which condemned woman for an imperfect animal, there sprung another theological one, which is combated by St. Austin, in Lib. 22, de Civit. Dei cap. 17. The authors of this system say, that, at the universal resurrection, this imperfection is to be

be remedied, by converting all the women into men; and that then, grace is to compleat and finish the work which nature had only begun.

XVII. This error is very like that of the infatuated Alchymists, who, relying on the maxim, that nature in the formation of metals, never intended to produce any thing but gold, and that it was only from some obstruction, or from some defect of vigour and virtue, that she fabricated other imperfect metals; also pretend, that art is afterwards capable of carrying the work to perfection, and making gold of that which was originally produced iron. But, after all, this error is the most sufferable of the two, because it does not interfere with matters of faith; and because also, let the intention of nature in the formation of metals, and the imaginary capacity of art, be what they will, it is a fact, that gold is the most noble of metals, and that the others are of a much inferior quality compared to it. But, in our present question, the assertion, that Nature always intended the production of males, and that her producing females was the effect of a bastard operation, is all false and erroneous; and much more so is the affirming, that this is to be amended at the resurrection.

SECT.

SECT. III.

XVIII. I would not, however, be underſtood to approve of what is thrown out by Zacuto Luſitano, in the introduction to his Treatiſe De Morbis Mulierum, where, with frivolous reaſons, he attempts to give the preference to the women, and to perſuade us, that their phyſical perfections greatly exceed thoſe of the men. Such an opinion, might be ſupported by much more plauſible arguments than are uſed by him; but my view is not to perſuade a ſuperiority, but only an equality.

XIX. And to begin, ſetting aſide the queſtion of their underſtandings, which I mean to diſcuſs ſeparately and more at large in this diſcourſe, let us conſider the three endowments, in which the men ſeem manifeſtly to have the advantage of the women, to wit, robuſtneſs, conſtancy, and prudence; but, although this ſhould be granted by the women, they might pretend to a competition, by pointing out other three qualities, in which they excel the male ſex, to wit, beauty, gentleneſs, and ſimplicity.

XX. Robuſtneſs, which is a bodily perfection, may be conſidered as counterpoiſed by beauty, which is ſo likewiſe. Many people are diſpoſed

to

to give the laſt the preference; and they would be right, if that was to be eſteemed the moſt valuable, which is the moſt flattering or pleaſing to the ſight: but the conſideration of which is moſt uſeful to the public, ſhould, in the eye of ſound judgment, weigh moſt in deciding the queſtion; and, viewing the thing in this light, robuſtneſs muſt be preferred to beauty. The robuſtneſs of men, furniſhes the world with three moſt eſſential benefits, which may not improperly be termed the three columns which ſupport every ſtate, to wit, arms, agriculture, and mechanics. From the beauty of women, I do not know what important advantage can accrue, unleſs it comes by accident. Some will argue, that beauty, ſo far from producing benefits, occaſions ſerious miſchiefs, by cauſing unruly amours, which inflame and excite competitions and ſtrife, and which involve thoſe who are charged with the cuſtody of women, in cares, uneaſineſſes, and anxiety.

XXI. But this accuſation, as it originates from a want of reflection, is ill-founded; for ſuppoſing, for argument's ſake, that all the women were ugly, in thoſe who were blemiſhed with the feweſt deformities, we ſhould experience the ſame attraction, which we do at preſent in the handſome ones, and they would conſequently occaſion the ſame miſchief. The leaſt ugly placed in Greece

would

would have caused the burning of Troy, as Helen did; and placed in the palace of King Roderigo, would have been the ruin of Spain, as La Caba was. In those countries where the women are the least tempting, there are not fewer disorders than there are in those where they are more genteelly, and more admirably formed: even in Muscovy, which in number of handsome women exceeds all the other kingdoms of Europe, incontinence is not so unbridled as in other countries, and conjugal faith is observed there, with more exactness than it is in other places.

XXII. Beauty therefore of itself, is not the cause of the mischiefs which are attributed to it; notwithstanding which, in the present question, I must give my vote in favour of robustness, as I esteem it a much more important quality than beauty, and therefore, in this particular, must give the preference to the men. There is, however, saved and remaining to the women, if they chuse to avail themselves of it, an objection to this decision, which may be founded on the judgment of many learned men, and which was assented to and admitted by a whole illustrious school: this judgment, recognizes the will for a more noble faculty than the understanding, which is rather favourable to their cause; for if robustness, as being of the most consequence, is, in the general opinion,

nion, moſt prized and valued, beauty, as the more amiable quality, has moſt control over the will.

XXIII. The virtue of conſtancy, which ennobles the men, may be contraſted with docility, which is reſplendent in the women. But it will be proper here to remark, that we do not treat of theſe or other qualities, as formally conſidering them in the ſtate of virtues, becauſe in this ſenſe, they are not of the lineage of nature, but only as they are grafted into, and diſplay themſelves in the temperament or habit; and, as the embryo of information is indifferent to receive good or bad impreſſions, it would be better to call them flexibility, or inflexibility of diſpoſition, than conſtancy or docility.

XXIV. I may be told, that the docility of women degenerates many times into levity; to which I anſwer that the conſtancy of men as frequently terminates in tenaciouſneſs. I confeſs, that firmneſs in a good cauſe is productive of great benefits; but it can't be denied, that obſtinacy in a bad one is alſo productive of great evils. If it is argued, that an invincible adherence to good or evil is a quality appertaining to angels only: I anſwer, that this is not ſo certain, for many great theologians deny it; and many properties, which in ſuperior

perior beings ſpring from their excellence, in inferior ones proceed from their imperfection. The angels, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas, are the more perfect, the fewer things they underſtand; in men, their knowledge being confined to a few particulars, is conſidered as a defect. In angels, ſtudy would be regarded as a diminution of, or a reflection upon their underſtandings; although it is known to be abſolutely neceſſary, to illuſtrate and adorn thoſe of men.

XXV. The prudence of the men, may be balanced by the ſimplicity or gentleneſs of the women; and I was even about to ſay more than balanced, for, in reality, ſimplicity or gentleneſs, is more beneficial to the human race, than the prudence of all its individuals; for nobody has ever deſcribed the golden age as compoſed of prudent, but of candid men.

XXVI. If it is objected, that much of that which is called ſimplicity in women, is thoughtleſſneſs or inattention: I reply, that much of that which is called prudence in men, is fallacy, duplicity and treachery, which are much worſe qualities. Even that very indiſcreet frankneſs, with which they ſometimes incautiouſly unboſom themſelves, is a good token, conſidered as a ſymptom. No perſon is ignorant of his own vices; and whoever finds himſelf load-

ed

ed with them to a large amount, is very careful to ſhut the crevices of his heart, to prevent the pryings of curioſity: whoever commits criminal diſorders within his houſe, does not leave his doors open at all hours, and by that means expoſe himſelf to be detected. Reſerve is the inſeparable companion of a bad heart; and you may conclude, that thoſe who familiarly, and with eaſe, unboſom themſelves, have little about them they are anxious of concealing. Conſidered then in this light, the ſimplicity or candour of the women, is always a valuable quality; but, when conducted with good ſenſe, it approaches to a perfection; and, when it is not, it may always be looked upon as a favourable ſymptom.

SECT. IV.

XXVII. Over and above the good qualities we have ſpecified, the women have another, which is the moſt beautiful and tranſcendent of all, to wit, their modeſty; a grace ſo characteriſtic of the ſex, that is does not forſake even their dead bodies; for Pliny remarks, that when the carcaſſes of drowned perſons float on the water, thoſe of the men ſwim with the face upwards, and thoſe of the women with the face downward.

Veluti pudori defunctarum parcente natura.

Lib. 7. Cap. 17.

XXVIII.

XXVIII. A certain philoſopher, being aſked what tint gave the moſt graceful hue to a woman's countenance, anſwered with much truth and perſpicuity, modeſty; and I am really of opinion, that it is the greateſt advantage the women can claim over the men. Modeſty is a ſcreen or fence, which nature ſeems to have placed between virtue and vice, and is, as a diſcreet French author obſerves, the ſhield of fine ſouls, and the viſible character of virtue: and St. Bernard extends the ſimile ſtill farther, illuſtrating it with the epithets of the precious gem of manners, the torch of the chaſte ſoul, and the ſiſter of continence; the guardian of fame, honour and life, the foundation of virtue, the pride of nature, and the ſymbol of all honeſty (Serm. 86, in Cant.) and Diogenes ingeniouſly and properly calls it the ſymbol of virtue. In fact, this is the great and formidable bulwark, which nature has raiſed, and placed in front, to oppoſe vice, and to ſerve as a ſhelter and covering to the whole fortreſs of the ſoul; and, as Nazianzenus ſaid, when this is once ſubdued, no farther reſiſtance can be made to every kind of vicious outrage. *Protinus extincto ſubeunt mala cuncta pudore.*

XXIX. It may be ſaid, that modeſty is a ſignal preſervative againſt exterior aſſaults, but not againſt interior acquieſcence; and thus a door always

ways is left open, at which vice may make a triumphal entry, which may be effected by the means of inviſible attacks, in parts, that are not ſheltered or protected by the wall of modeſty. But even admitting that ſuch a thing might happen, ſhame would ever remain a moſt valuable preſervative, and be the canſe of preventing an infinite deal of ſcandal, and the fatal conſequences attending it. Upon ſerious reflection it will be found, that, if it does not defend totally, it is in a great meaſure a protection even againſt thoſe ſilent and ſecret aſſaults, which ſcarce ever peep out or ſhew themſelves beyond the occult receſſes of the ſoul: for internal conſentings are very rare, when they are not excited by ſome ſort of attempts, for theſe are the things which radicate criminal affections in the ſoul, and alſo thoſe which augment and ſtrengthen propenſities to vice. It is true, that without theſe ſtimulants, we now and then ſee turpitude introduce itſelf into the ſpirit; but he does not ſeem to lodge there as if he was at home, or like the maſter of the houſe, but only as a ſtranger or a ſojourner.

XXX. The paſſions, without the aliment that nouriſhes them, lay very languid, and act very timidly, eſpecially in perſons who are much addicted to bluſh; and thoſe, in whom there is ſuch a frank and eaſy commerce between the boſom and

the countenance, are always under apprehenſions, leſt the moſt ſecret operations of their breaſts, ſhould be expoſed to public view on the parade of their faces. In fact, if upon every occaſion, their moſt private or concealed affections are blazoned on their cheeks, the glow of the bluſh, ſeems the only tint, with which the images of inviſible objects can be painted or deſcribed; and thus, the fear of being liable to have what is impreſſed in their minds read in their faces, becomes a rein, which confines and checks the dangerous ſallies of deſire.

XXX. To this may be added, that the colour is ſo apt to riſe in the countenances of ſome of them, that they will often bluſh at themſelves. This heroic excellence, or type of modeſty, which the ingenious father Viera celebrates in one of his ſermons, is not, as ſome coarſe ſpirits have termed it, purely ideal, but in perſons of the moſt noble ſentiments and diſpoſitions, real, and natural. This was well known to Demetrius Phalereus, who, when he was inſtructing the youth of Athens, enjoined them, that at home they ſhould behave with modeſty to their parents, that abroad they ſhould obſerve the ſame deportment to every one they ſaw, and that in private they ſhould preſerve a decency and a modeſt carriage even to themſelves.

SECT.

SECT. V.

XXXII. I think I have pointed out as many advantages on the ſide of the women, as will balance, if not out-weigh, the qualities in which the men excel. Who now is to give ſentence in this plea? If I had authority to do it, I might perhaps pronounce a ſhort one, declaring, that the qualities in which the women excel, conduce to make them better in themſelves; and that thoſe in which the men excel, make them better for, or, to ſpeak more properly, of greater uſe to the public; though as I am not exerciſing the office of a judge, but only that of an advocate, the cauſe muſt for the preſent remain undecided.

XXXIII. And even ſuppoſing I had the neceſſary authority to determine, I ſhould be obliged to ſuſpend giving judgment, as it might be urged on behalf of the men, that the good qualities which are attributed to the women are common to both ſexes: I confeſs they are, but the ſame thing may be ſaid with equal juſtice with reſpect to thoſe of the men. In order not to confound the queſtion, it will be neceſſary to point out the good qualities which are more frequently found in the individuals of one ſex, and ſeldomer in thoſe of the other. I grant then, that you meet with men who are do-

cile, candid, and capable of bluſhing; and I will add, that bluſhing, which is a good ſymptom in women, is a better ſtill in men, becauſe it denotes a generous nature and much ingenuity; which John Barclay has more than once declared in his Satyricon; and it can't be denied, that the opinion of a man of his ſubtile genius, is a vote of great conſequence in ſuch a queſtion; and although this may not be an infallible ſign, I myſelf have made ſo much obſervation in theſe matters as to be convinced, that no great expectations can be formed of a boy, who is audacious and forward.

XXXIV. I ſay then, that various individuals of our ſex, may be obſerved to poſſeſs the fine qualities which enoble the other, though not with the ſame frequency; but this by no means inclines the balance in our favour, becauſe, on the other hand, the perfections the men boaſt of, being communicated to many women, have equal weight in the oppoſite ſcale.

SECT. VI.

XXXV. There have been a thouſand examples of princeſſes, who were expert and able politicians. No age will ever forget the firſt woman, whoſe true character hiſtory developed and reſcued from the obſcurity of fable: I mean Semiramis, queen

queen of the Aſſyrians, who in her infancy was nurſed by doves, but afterwards ſoared ſuperior to the eagles: ſhe not only knew how to make herſelf blindly obeyed by the ſubjects her huſband had left her, but ſhe alſo made ſubjects of all the neighbouring nations, and by extending her conqueſts, ſhe likewiſe made neighbours of the moſt diſtant ones. Her empire extended on one ſide to Ethiopia, and on the other to India. Nor can Artemiſia, queen of Caria, be forgotten, who not only maintained, during her long widowhood, the reſpect and adoration of that kingdom; but, being invaded by the Rhodians, ſhe, in her own territories, by two ſingular ſtratagems, with two attacks only deſtroyed the troops of her enemies; and, paſſing ſuddenly from the defenſive to the offenſive, ſhe invaded them in her turn, and conquered and triumphed over the iſland of Rhodes. The two Aſpaſias alſo will be ever remembered, to whoſe admirable management, Pericles the huſband of one of them, and Cyrus the ſon of Darius Notho, gallant of the other, happily and ſucceſsfully, confided the government of their ſtates; as will likewiſe the moſt prudent Phile, daughter of Antipater, whom, while ſhe was a child, her father adviſed with concerning the government of the kingdom of Macedonia, and who afterwards, by her wiſe ſtratagems and great addreſs, extricated her huſband, the precipitate and flighty Demetrius,

from a thouſand difficulties. Livia, of fertile invention, whoſe ſubtile cunning ſeems to have been too deep for the penetration of Auguſtus, is another inſtance of female ability, for ſhe could never have had ſuch dominion over his mind, if he had known her. The ſagacious Agrippina is likewiſe another, although her arts, as ſhe unhappily employed them in promoting her ſon Nero to the throne, were fatal to herſelf and the world. Amalethunſa alſo, is well deſerving of being reckoned among the women of great talents, in whom, her underſtanding all the languages of every nation ſubject to the Roman empire, was eſteemed an inferior accompliſhment, compared to the great ſkill and addreſs, which ſhe diſplayed in governing the ſtate during the minority of her ſon Athalaricus.

XXXVI. Nor, paſſing over many others, and approaching nearer to our own times, ſhould we ever forget Elizabeth of England, in whoſe compoſition, the influx of the three Graces concurred equally with that of the three Furies. Her conduct as a ſovereign, would ever remain the admiration of Europe, if her vices were not ſo interwoven with her maxims of government, as to make it impoſſible to ſeparate them; and her political image, will ever preſent itſelf to poſterity, coloured, or, to ſpeak more properly, ſtained and blemiſhed with the blood of the innocent Mary Stewart, queen

queen of Scots. Neither ſhould we forget Catharine of Medicis, queen of France, whoſe ſagacity in negotiating and maintaining a balance between the oppoſite parties of Calviniſts and Catholics, in order to ſave the crown from a precipice, reſembled the dexterity of a rope-dancer, who, mounted on a cord, by his ready art and addreſs at poiſing himſelf with the weights at the ends of his poles, ſecures himſelf from falling, and delights and amuſes the ſpectators, by diſplaying the riſque, at the ſame time that he dextrouſly avoids the danger. Our own queen Iſabella, would not have been inferior to any of them in the buſineſs of adminiſtration and government, if, inſtead of a queen conſort, ſhe had been a qneen-regent. Under all this diſadvantage, when proper occaſions preſented themſelves, ſhe manifeſted by her actions, that ſhe was a woman of conſummate prudence and ability; and Lawrance Beyerlink in his eulogium of her, ſays, that no great thing was done in her time, in which ſhe did not aſſiſt, or was wholly the author of. *Quid magni in regno, ſine illa, imo niſi per illam ferè geſtum eſt?* At leaſt the diſcovery of the new world, which was an event the moſt glorious for Spain that had fallen out in the courſe of many ages, would certainly never have been effected or accompliſhed, but for the magnanimity of Iſabella, who diſpelled the fears, and vanquiſhed the ſloth of Ferdinand.

XXXVII. In fine, and what ſeems to have more weight than all the reſt, it appears to me, although I am not very certain of the computation, that among the queens who have reigned for any length of time as abſolute ſovereigns, the greateſt part of them, have been celebrated in hiſtory for excellent governors. But the poor women, are ſtill ſo unhappy, as always to have trumped up againſt this train of illuſtrious examples, a Brunequilda, a Fredegunda, the two Joans of Naples, and a few others; but, by the way, the two firſt, although they abounded in miſchief, did not want underſtanding.

XXXVIII. Nor is the world ſo univerſally perſuaded as ſome may think, that a crown does not ſit well on the head of a woman, becauſe in an iſland or peninſula, which is formed by the Nile in Ethiopia, called Meroe, women, according to the teſtimony of Pliny, reigned for many ſucceſſive ages. Father Cornelius Alapide, ſpeaking of Saba, who was one of their queens, ſuppoſes, that her empire extended much beyond the limits of Meroe, and that it might poſſibly comprehend the greateſt part of Ethiopia, grounding his opinion, upon an expreſſion of our Saviour, who called her Queen of the South, which words ſeemed to imply, that ſhe poſſeſſed vaſt dominions in that quarter. Thomas Cornelius alſo tells us, that authors

authors were not wanting, who aſſerted, that Meroe was bigger than the iſland of Great Britain, and, if ſo, the territories of thoſe queens were not very confined, though they did not extend beyond the limits of Meroe. Ariſtotle (Lib. 2. Polit. Cap. 7,) ſays, that among the Lacedemonians, the women had a great ſhare in the political government; and that their being allowed it, is agreeable to the laws given them by Licurgus.

XXXIX. In Borneo alſo, according to the relation of Mandeſlo, which may be ſeen in the ſecond volume of Olearius, the women reign, and their huſbands enjoy no other privilege, than that of being their moſt dignified ſubjects. In the iſland of Formoſa, ſituated in the ſouthern part of the Chineſe ſea, thoſe idolaters who inhabit it, have ſuch confidence in the prudent conduct of the women, that the Sacerdotal function, together with every thing which relates to religious matters, is confided wholly to them; and that, with regard to politics, they enjoy a power ſuperior to that of the ſenators, they being conſidered as the interpreters of the will of their deities.

XL. Notwithſtanding all this, the ordinary practice of nations is moſt conformable to reaſon, as it correſponds beſt with the divine decree notified to our firſt mother in Paradiſe, and to all her

her daughters in her name, which enjoins a ſubjection to the men; and we ſhould only correct the impatience, which many people ſhew at ſubmitting to female government, when according to the laws of the land they ſhould obey; and we ſhould alſo bridle that extravagant eſtimation for our own ſex, which carries us ſuch lengths, as to prefer the government of a weak child, to that of an able and experienced woman. The antient Perſians were drawn by this prepoſſeſſion to ſuch a ridiculous extreme, that the widow of one of their princes happening to be left with child at the death of her huſband, and being adviſed by their magi, that ſhe had conceived a male, they crowned the belly of the queen, and before it was born, proclaimed the fœtus king by the name of Sapor.

SECT. VII.

XLI. We have hitherto treated of political prudence only, in the diſcuſſion of which point, we have contented ourſelves with a few examples, and have omitted the many. It is needleſs to inſiſt on the ability of women in point of œconomical prudence, as every day's experience exhibits to us, houſes and families extremely well governed by women, and very badly governed by men.

LXII. We

XLII. We ſhall next proceed to conſider reſolution as a property, which the men look upon as peculiarly annexed to, or inſeparable from, their own ſex. I admit that heaven has endowed them in compariſon to the women, with a quadruple portion of this ingredient; but not that it was given them as an exempt property, peculiarly annexed to, and belonging to their ſex only, and that the other was to be excluded from the leaſt participation of it.

XLIII. Not an age has paſſed, which has not been ennobled and graced by women of eminence and worth; and without dwelling on the heroines of Scripture, and the martyrs to the law of grace, becauſe actions, which are aided by the eſpecial intervention of a ſupernatural hand, ſhould be attributed to the divine power, and not to any natural virtue, or faculty of a ſex: I ſay, without having recourſe to theſe ſort of examples, women of heroic valour, preſent themſelves to the memory in crouds; and after the Semiramis's, the Artamiſſas, the Thomyris, the Zenobias, there appears an Aretaphila, the wife of Nicrotatus, the ſovereign of Cyrene in Libya, in whoſe incomparably generous nature, the greateſt fortitude of mind, the moſt tender love of her country, and the moſt ſubtile and diſcerning underſtanding, contended for the pre-eminence; becauſe, to deliver her country from the violent tyranny of her huſband, and to revenge

revenge the murder, which, for the ſake of poſſeſſing her he had perpetrated on her firſt conſort, ſhe made herſelf the leader of a conſpiracy, and deprived Nicrotatus of the kingdom and his life. Leander, who inherited all his brother's cruelty, having ſucceeded to the crown, ſhe had the valour and addreſs to rid the world of this ſecond tyrant alſo; crowning in the end, all her heroic actions, by declining to accept the diadem, which from a grateful ſenſe of the many benefits ſhe had conferred on them, was offered to her by the Cyreneans. Denepetina, the daughter of the great Mithridates, and the inſeparable companion and partner of her father, in all his dangerous undertakings and projects, in the execution of which ſhe manifeſted upon every occaſion, that ſtrength of mind and body, which the ſingular circumſtance of her coming into the world with double rows of teeth, ſeems to have foretold at her birth; after her father was defeated by the great Pompey, ſhe was ſhut up and beſieged in a caſtle by Manlius Priſcus, where, finding it impoſſible to defend herſelf, ſhe deprived herſelf of life, to avoid ſuffering the ignominy of being made a ſlave. An Arria, the wife of Cecinus Peto, whoſe huſband having been concerned in the conſpiracy of Camilus againſt the emperor Claudius, was for this crime condemned to death; and ſhe, determined not to outlive her conſort, having ſeveral times tried

tried in vain to beat her head to pieces againſt a wall, procured at laſt to be introduced to her huſband in priſon, where ſhe extorted from him a promiſe, to anticipate with his own hands the work of the executioner, and, by way of encouraging him to do it, immediately transfixed her own breaſt with a dagger. – An Epponina, upon her huſband Julius Sabinus having in Gaul arrogated to himſelf the title of Cæſar, endured, with rare conſtancy and fortitude, unſpeakable toils; and being at laſt condemned to death by Veſpaſian, ſhe frankly and openly told him, ſhe ſhould die contented, as death would deprive her of the diſguſt of ſeeing ſo bad an emperor as him on the throne.

XLIV. And, that it ſhould not be thought the latter ages are inferior to the antient ones in reſolute and courageous women, ſee the maid of Orleans preſent herſelf, and ſtand forth compleatly armed, as the pillar, which, in its greateſt diſtreſs, ſupported the tottering monarchy of France; which ſhe did ſo amazingly, that the Engliſh and French, who were as oppoſite in ſentiments as in arms, imputed her extraordinary feats, the one to a diabolical compact, and the other to divine aſſiſtance. The Engliſh perhaps feigned the firſt, for the purpoſe of throwing an odium on their enemies; and thoſe who had the management of affairs in France,

ſuggeſted the other politically; for it was of vaſt importance, when the people and ſoldiers were ſo greatly diſmayed, to raiſe their dejected ſpirits, by perſuading them, that heaven had declared itſelf their ally, and introduced on the theatre of the world, a damſel of perſpicuity and magnanimity, as an inſpired inſtrument, which was equal to, and capable of effecting the miraculous ſuccour. A Margaret of Denmark, in the fourteenth century, in her own perſon, headed an army, and conquered the kingdom of Sweden, taking king Albertus priſoner. The authors of thoſe times, call her the ſecond Semiramis. One Marulla, a native of Lemnos, an iſland in the Archipelago, when the fortreſs of Cochin was beſieged, upon ſeeing her father ſlain, ſnatched up his ſword and ſhield; and having prevailed on the whole garriſon to follow her, ſhe put herſelf at their head, and, encouraging them by her example, charged the enemy with ſuch ardour, that ſhe drove them from their trenches, and obliged the Baſha Soliman to raiſe the ſiege: which action, the Venetian general Loredano, who was proprietor of the place, rewarded, by permitting her to chuſe for a huſband, whichever of the moſt illuſtrious captains of his army ſhe liked beſt, promiſing at the ſame time, to ſettle on her and her conſort, a fortune ſuitable to their rank, which he did in the name of the republic. One Blanca de Roſſi, the wife of Baptiſta

Porta, a Paduan captain, who, after defending valourouſly a poſt on the walls of Baſſano, a fortreſs in the march of Treſvina, finding the place ſuddenly taken by treachery, and her huſband made priſoner and put to death by the tyrant Ezelinus, and perceiving ſhe had no means left to eſcape falling a victim to the brutal paſſion of that raviſher, who was furiouſly enamoured with her beauty; ſhe threw herſelf out of the window of an upper room; but being afterwards, againſt her inclination, cured of the bruiſes ſhe received, and enduring with anguiſh and regret under that oppreſſive barbarian, the ſhame of having been forced, ſhe, to relieve the bitterneſs of her grief, and to extricate herſelf from continuing in a ſtate of violation to her conjugal faith, deprived herſelf of life in the ſepulchre of her huſband, which for the purpoſe of doing it there ſhe had cauſed to be opened. We could inſtance many other women of heroic courage, and particularize the occaſions on which they exerted it; but, to avoid the recital appearing prolix or tedious, we ſhall omit the relation of them.

XLV. The reaſon of my not having yet mentioned the Amazons, which is a caſe ſo applicable to this matter, is, becauſe I think it will be better to treat of them ſeparately. Some authors, in oppoſition to many others who affirm it, deny their

their exiſtence; but without engaging in this diſpute, we muſt allow, that much fable has been mixed with the hiſtory of the Amazons; ſuch as that they deſtroyed all their male children; that they lived in a total ſtate of ſeparation from the other ſex, and only conſorted with them once a year for the ſake of becoming pregnant. Of a piece with theſe, are the tales of their encounters with Hercules and Theſeus, and the ſuccour given to afflicted Troy by the fierce Pentheſilea, and perhaps that alſo, of the viſit of queen Taleſtris to Alexander. But with all this, againſt the teſtimony and credit of ſo many antient authors, it would be raſh to deny, that there was a formidable body of warlike women in Aſia, who went by the name of Amazons.

XLVI. But in caſe this ſhould be denied, in lieu of the Aſiatic Amazonians they deprive us of, we ſhould be ſupplied with another ſet, drawn from the other three parts of the globe, ready to ſtand forth and take their places. The Spaniards diſcovered American ones, navigating armed, on the river Maranon, which is the largeſt in the world, and to which, for this reaſon, they gave the name of the river of the Amazons. There are ſome of them in Africa, in a province of the empire of Monomotapa: and, it is ſaid, they are the beſt ſoldiers in all that territory: there are not wanting geo-

geographers, who made Monomotapa a diſtinct ſtate from the country theſe warlike women inhabit.

XLVII. In Europe, although in no part of it the women are military people by profeſſion, we may venture to give the name of Amazons to thoſe who upon different occaſions, have fought in ſuch battalions or ſquadrons, as have defeated and triumphed over the enemies of their country. Such were the French women of Beauvais, who, when that city, in the year 1742, was beſieged by the Burgundians, on the day of the aſſault, united themſelves together under the conduct or command of Joan Hacheta, and vigorouſly repulſed the enemy; their captain Hacheta, having with her own hands, tumbled the perſon headlong from the walls, who attempted to erect the enemies ſtandard there. To commemorate this tranſaction, they keep an annual feſtival in that city, and the women on the feaſt-day, have the ſingular privilege of walking in proceſſion before the men. Such alſo, were the inhabitants of the iſlands Echinadas, called at preſent Bur-Solares, celebrated for the victory of Lepanto, which was gained in the ſea of theſe iſlands, The year antecedent to this famous battle, the Turks having attacked the principal iſland, the Venetian governor Antonio Balbo, and all the men, were ſo terrified, that they betook

themſelves to flight in the night, leaving the women behind them, who, at the inſtance of a prieſt named Antonio Roſoneo, reſolved to defend the place; and, much to the honour of their own ſex, and the diſgrace of ours, they really did defend it.

N. B. With reſpect to the women who laid violent hands on themſelves, we do not mean to propoſe their reſolution as examples of virtue, but only to exhibit it, as a vicious exceſs of fierce courage, which is ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe intended.

SECT. VIII.

XLVIII. After all this recital of magnanimous women, there ſtill remains ſomething to be ſaid on a particular, which the men point out as their weak ſide, and with reſpect to which, they charge them with the greateſt want of conſtancy; that is, their not being firm in keeping a ſecret. Cato the Cenſor in this inſtance, would not admit of any exception whatever with regard to them, and condemned the truſting a ſecret to any woman, be ſhe who ſhe would, as one of the greateſt errors a man could run into; but Cato's own great niece Porcia, daughter of Cato the younger, and wife of Marcus Brutus, gave the lie to this aſſertion, ſhe having

having obliged her husband, to confide to her the grand secret of the conspiracy against Cæsar, by the extraordinary proof she exhibited to him of her valour and constancy, in the great wound she voluntarily gave herself with a knife in the thigh.

XLIX. Pliny, quoting the Magi as his authors, tells us, that the heart of a certain bird, applied to the breast of a woman when she is asleep, will make her reveal all her secrets. And in another place, he says, the tongue of a certain snake will have the same effect. The magicians being obliged to search among the hidden secrets of Nature, for keys to unlock the doors of their hearts, is no proof, of the womens being so easily brought to reveal what has been confided to them. But let us laugh with Pliny at these inventions; and let us grant, if you please, that there are very few women strict observers of a secret; but, in return to this, it is confessed on the other hand by the most experienced politicians, that there are very few men also, to whom you can confide secrets of importance; and truly, if such men were not very scarce commodities, princes would not hold them in such high estimation, as to think scarce any of their richest moveables equal to them in value.

L. Nor are there examples wanting, of women of invincible constancy in the article of keeping a

ſecret. Pythagoras, when he found himſelf near dying, delivered all his writings, in which were contained the moſt hidden myſteries of his philoſophy, into the cuſtody of his prudent and dutiful daughter Damo; directing her at the ſame time, never to permit them to be publiſhed, which injunction ſhe ſo punctually obeyed, that, even when ſhe found herſelf reduced to extreme poverty, and could have ſold thoſe books for a large ſum of money, ſhe choſe rather to endure the anguiſh and pinchings of want, than be deficient in point of the confidence repoſed in her by her father.

LI. The magnanimous Aretaphila, whom we have already mentioned, having attempted to take away the life of her huſband by a poiſonous draught before ſhe entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, which was to be carried into execution by force of arms, was ſurprized and detected in the fact, and being put to the torture to diſcover who were her comforters and abettors, the force of the torment was ſo far from extorting the ſecret, or depriving her of the poſſeſſion of herſelf, or the uſe of her reaſon, that, after owning ſhe intended to give him the poiſon, ſhe had the addreſs to perſuade the tyrant it was a love-philter, and contrived for the purpoſe of increaſing his paſſion for her. In fact, this ingenious fiction had the effect of a philter, for Nicotratus's love of her was afterwards

terwards greatly increaſed from this perſuaſion, that ſhe, who was ſolicitous to excite in him an arduous and exceſſive deſire for her, could not do otherwiſe than entertain a ſincere tenderneſs and affection for him.

LII. In the conſpiracy ſet on foot by Ariſtogiton, and which was begun to be executed, by putting to death Hipparchus, the brother of Hippias, a courteſan woman, who had been truſted with the ſecret, and knew all the accomplices, was put to the torture; but ſhe, to convince the tyrant of the impoſſibility of extorting the ſecret from her, cut her tongue aſunder with her teeth, and let the end drop before his face.

LIII. When the firſt indications of the conſpiracy of Piſon againſt Nero, began to ſhew themſelves, many of the moſt illuſtrious men of Rome ſhrunk under, and gave way to the rigour of the torture. Lucan, for example, diſcovered his own mother as an accomplice, and many others their moſt intimate friends; and there was only one Epicharis, an ordinary and obſcure woman, who was acquainted with the whole tranſaction, on whom neither whips nor fire, nor all the martyrdoms they could invent, had power to tear from her breaſt the leaſt information.

LIV. I knew a certain one myſelf, who, being examined by the torture, touching an atrocious crime which had been committed by her maſter and miſtreſs, reſiſted the force of that rigorous teſt, not to ſave herſelf, but only to ſkreen them; for ſo ſmall a portion of the fault could be imputed to her, either on account of her ignorance of the magnitude of the crime, or from her having acted by the command of others, and from various circumſtances of mitigation, that the law would not have condemned her to a puniſhment, any thing comparable to the ſeverity of that ſhe underwent.

LV. But of women, from whom the power of torture could not tear the ſecrets of their breaſts, the examples are infinite. I heard a perſon who had been uſed to aſſiſt upon ſuch occaſions declare, that, although he had known many of them confeſs, rather than be ſtripped naked to prepare them for the execution of the puniſhment of the rack, the inſtances of their having confeſſed after undergoing this martyrdom of their modeſty, were very rare. A truly great and ſhining excellence in the ſex this, that the regard for their modeſty, ſhould have more weight with them than all the terrors of an executioner.

LVI. I do not doubt, but this parallel I have drawn of the ſexes, may appear to many ſomewhat

flattering to the women; but I ſhall reply to theſe, that Seneca, whoſe rigid Stoiciſm removes all doubts of his impartiality, and whoſe ſeverity ſets him at a great diſtance from all ſuſpicion of flattery, has made a compariſon not a jot leſs favourable to the ſide of the women, for he abſolutely aſſerts them to be equal to the men, in all the valuable natural faculties and diſpoſitions. Theſe are his words: *Quis autem dicat, naturam malignè cum muliebribus ingeniis egiſſe, & virtutes illarum in arctum retraxiſſe? Par illis mihi crede, vigor, par ad honeſta (libeat) facultas eſt. Laborem, doloremque ex æquo ſi conſuevere patiuntur.* (in Conſol. ad Marciam.)

SECT. IX.

LVII. We are come now to defend the great article of all, which is the queſtion of the underſtanding; and, I muſt confeſs, if my reaſon does not aſſiſt me in arguing this point, that I expect but little help or reſource from authorities; becauſe all the authors who have touched upon the matter, with the exception of one or two particular ones only, have wrote ſo much on the ſide of the vulgar opinion, that they almoſt uniformly ſpeak of the underſtandings of the women with contempt.

LVIII. And truly, I might reply to the authority of the greateſt part of theſe books, with the fable of the lion and the man, inſerted by Carducius in one of his dialogues, which is to this effect. A man and a lion travelling together, fell to diſpute whether lions or men were the braveſt animals: and as they proceeded on their road, they came to a fountain, at the top of which, there was exhibited carved in marble, a man tearing a lion in pieces; upon ſeeing this, the man turned ſhort on the lion, and in the tone of a conqueror, aſked, if he could make any reply to ſo convincing an argument; to which the lion anſwered with a ſmile, this is very pretty reaſoning of yours, the carving was deſigned and executed by a man; we lions are none of us ſculptors; if we had, and were capable of doing this ſort of work, I will venture to aſſure you, the repreſentation would have been made quite the reverſe to what you there ſee it.

LIX. The caſe is, they were men who wrote thoſe books, in which the underſtandings of the women are held ſo cheap; had they been written by women, the men would have been placed in the inferior claſs: and there has not been wanting a woman, who has done ſomething of this ſort; for Lucretia Marinella, a learned Venetian lady, among other works compoſed a book with

with this title, *The Excellences of Women, compared with the Defects and Vices of Men*; the ſole object of which, was to prove a preference of her own ſex to ours. The learned jeſuit John of Carthagena ſays, that he ſaw and read this book with great pleaſure at Rome, and that he ſaw it alſo in the royal library at Madrid; but the truth is, that neither ſhe nor we can be judges in this plea, becauſe we are parties to the ſuit; and therefore the ſentence and deciſion muſt be confided to the angels, who being of no ſex, are impartial.

LX. And in the firſt place, thoſe who hold the underſtanding of women in ſuch contempt, as hardly to allow they are endued with more than pure inſtinct, are unworthy to be admitted as parties in the controverſy; neither are thoſe, who maintain, that the greateſt reach of a woman's capacity, does not extend farther than to qualify her for managing a hen-rooſt.

LXI. Some prelate, who is quoted by Don Franciſco Manuel in his Guide to Married People, ſaid, that the underſtanding of the moſt knowing woman did not exceed the bounds of ordering how a cheſt of clean linen ſhould be packed. Let thoſe who adhere to ſuch opinions, be as reſpectable as they will in other points of view, they do themſelves no ſort of credit by ſuch declarations;

declarations; for the moſt favourable interpretation they admit of, is, that they were intended as hyperbolic jokes. It is a fact of public notoriety, that there have been women, who well underſtood the ordering and governing religious communities, and alſo women, who are equal to the government and direction of whole ſtates.

LXII. Theſe diſcourſes againſt the women, are the works of ſuperficial men; who, ſeeing they in general underſtand nothing but houſhold buſineſs, which is commonly the only thing they are inſtructed in, or employed about, are apt to infer from thence, without being aware that they draw the inference from that circumſtance, that they are unfit for, or incapable of any other matter. The moſt ſhallow logician knows, that it is not a valid concluſion, to ſuppoſe that becauſe a perſon forbears to do an act, that he is unable to do it, and therefore, from the women in general knowing no more, it cannot be inferred, that they have not talents to comprehend more.

LXIII. Nobody underſtands radically and well, more than the ſubject he has ſtudied; but you cannot deduce from hence, without incurring the note of barbariſm, that his ability extends no farther. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, ſtates the following queſtion: ſuppoſe all men were to dedicate

dedicate themſelves to agriculture, in ſo cloſe and ſtrict a manner, as to occaſion their underſtanding nothing elſe; would this be a foundation whereon to argue and inſiſt, that they were incapable of underſtanding any other thing? With the Druſes, a people of Palaſtine, the women are the only repoſitories of the little learning that ſubſiſts among them, for almoſt all of theſe can read and write; in conſequence of which, the little literature they can boaſt of, is treaſured up in the heads of the women, and totally hidden from the men, who devote themſelves ſolely to agriculture, war, and handy-craft buſineſs. If the ſame cuſtom prevailed all the world over, the women would undoubtedly conſider the men as unfit for, or incapable of literature, in which light, the men at preſent conſider the women; and as ſuch a judgment would certainly be erroneous, in the ſame manner is that miſtaken, which we at preſent make, becauſe it proceeds upon the ſame principle.

SECT. X.

LXIV. And perhaps father Malebranche adopts the ſame mode of reaſoning; for, although he was much more benign towards the women, and in his art of inveſtigating truth acknowledges, that in the faculty of diſcerning ſenſible things, they are known to have the advantage of the

the men; ſtill he inſiſts, they are much inferior to them in the comprehenſion of abſtract ideas; and aſſigns as the reaſon of it, the ſoftneſs of their brains. It is very well known, that people ſearch for theſe phyſical cauſes, and after ſome experience, when they are, or fancy they are ſure of their effects, apply them in their own manner, to ſuit their own doctrines. This being the caſe, the conſequence which reſults from hence is, that the author himſelf falls into the ſame intellectual diſeaſe, of which he had intended to cure all mankind. This error, is produced by common pre-occupations, and principles ill conſidered and digeſted. He without doubt made this judgment, either to avoid being led away by the common opinion, or from having obſerved, that women of ability, or thoſe who are reputed ſuch, reaſon with more facility, and talk more pertinently than the men, on ſuch ſubjects as appertain to ſenſible things, and with no leſs preciſion than them (if in ſuch caſes they do not obſerve a total ſilence) on abſtracted matters; but this proceeds, not from an inequality of talents, but from a difference of application and practice. Women employ themſelves, and think much more than the men, about dainty eatables, ſetting out a table, ornaments of dreſs, and other things of this kind; from whence it happens, that they diſcourſe and talk of them more pertinently, and with greater facility than thoſe of the other ſex.

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On the contrary, it is very rare, that any woman attends to queſtions of theory, or beſtows the leaſt thought on the ſubject of abſtract ideas, and therefore it is no wonder they ſeem dull, when the converſation turns on ſuch matters. If you obſerve them, you will find, that women who are informed, and are of a gay caſt, and who ſometimes take pleaſure in diſcourſing on the delicacies of platonic love, whenever it happens that they argue with the men on this point, they greatly out-do even the moſt diſcreet ones, who have not applied themſelves to explore theſe bagatels of fancy: this in a great meaſure confirms the remarks we have made above.

LXV. In general, any perſon whatever, be his capacity ever ſo great, will appear more rude than a man of little penetration, if he talks with him of ſuch matters as the other has had experience in and he has never applied himſelf to underſtand. A labourer in husbandry, whom God has endowed with a moſt penetrating genius, which is no uncommon caſe, if it happens that his attention has never been fixed on any other thing but his work, would appear greatly inferior to the moſt heavy politician, if he ſhould ever chance to converſe with him about reaſons of ſtate; and the moſt wiſe politician, if he is merely a politician, who ſhould ſet himſelf to talk about the diſpoſition of troops, and the fighting of battles, would utter a thou-

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ſand abſurdities; inſomuch, that if a man ſkilled in military affairs was to hear him, he would be apt to conclude he was mad, as Hannibal thought the great Aſiatic orator was, who, in the preſence of king Antiochus and him, undertook to argue about the art and conduct of war.

LXVI. It happens exactly the ſame in the buſineſs we are now treating of. A woman of excellent underſtanding, whoſe thoughts are conſtantly occupied on domeſtic management and the care of her houſe, without ſcarce ever hearing matters of a ſuperior nature talked of, or, if it does happen that ſhe hears any ſuch thing, ſhe rarely pays much attention to it: her husband, though much inferior to her in talents, converſes frequently abroad with able men of various profeſſions, by communicating with whom, he acquires variety of knowledge, or he enters into public buſineſs, and receives important information. Inſtructed in this manner, if it happens at any time that in the company of his wife, theſe matters are talked of, ſhe, who by the means and in the way we have juſt mentioned, can gain but little aid or aſſiſtance, if ſhe happens to ſpeak juſt what occurs to her on the ſubject, from the want of inſtruction, muſt appear a little defective in point of knowledge, let her be ever ſo acute and penetrating. Her husband, and the others who hear her, conclude from thence, that ſhe

ſhe is a fool; and he in particular, plumes himſelf on his ſuperior talents and abilities.

LXVII. As it fared with this woman, ſo it fares with an infinity of others, who, though they may have much more ſenſe than the men they happen to be in company with, are condemned by them as unfit to reaſon on any kind of ſubject: but the truth is, that their not being able to reaſon at all, or their reaſoning ill on ſuch matters, does not proceed from a want of talents, but from a want of being properly informed; and without this aſſiſtance, a perſon, endued with even an angelic underſtanding, could not diſcourſe pertinently on any ſubject whatever. The men at the ſame time, although inferior to them in underſtanding, ſhine and triumph over them with an air of importance, becauſe they happen to be better provided with information.

LXVIII. Over and above this advantage of being better informed, the men have another, which is of great moment, to wit, that they are much accuſtomed to meditate, diſcourſe, and reaſon upon ſuch matters, it being in a manner their daily practice; while the women hardly ever beſtow a thought on them: on which account, whenever theſe things are ſtarted in converſation, the men

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are prepared to talk upon them, and the women are taken by ſurprize.

LXIX. Finally, men, by their reciprocal communication with each other upon ſuch ſubjects, gain mutual inſtruction, each individual, receiving lights and information from the obſervations and experience of thoſe we converſe with; and therefore, when they argue upon theſe matters, they not only make uſe of their own underſtandings and improvements, but they likewiſe avail themſelves of what they have acquired from their neighbours; ſo that many times, what is expreſſed and explained by the mouth of one man, is not the produce of one underſtanding only, but of many. The women, who in their ordinary converſations, don't diſcourſe on theſe ſublime queſtions, but rather of their domeſtic amuſements and employments, furniſh to each other no reciprocal lights or aſſiſtance, with reſpect to theſe great points; in conſequence of which, whenever they happen to be preſent when ſuch ſubjects are agitated, you ſhould add to their talking unprepared, the diſadvantage, of each of them being confined to the uſe of no more than their own proper lights and ideas.

LXX. Theſe advantages, by means of which, a man of very ſhort penetration, may ſay much more, and much more to the purpoſe, upon noble ſubjects,

ſubjects, than a woman of great perſpicuity, are of ſuch moment, that one who has not attended to the above reflections, if he ſhould happen to be preſent at a converſation of this ſort, between a very keen woman and a very heavy man, might be apt to conclude, that he was a diſcreet perſon, and ſhe a fool.

LXXI. In fact, the want of theſe reflections, has engendered in many men, and ſome of them in other reſpects wiſe and prudent ones, this great contempt for the underſtanding of women; but what is moſt laughable and ridiculous, they have exclaimed ſo much and ſo loudly againſt them, and have aſſerted with ſuch confidence the poverty and ſcantineſs of their underſtandings, that many, if not the bulk of the world, have been idle enough to believe them.

SECT. XI.

LXXII. And it ſeems to me, that not even thoſe, who approaching nearer to reaſon, admit, that though the men in general excel the women in underſtanding, ſtill own there are women of ſolid and perſpicuous parts; I ſay, not even theſe have, to my ſatisfaction, eſtabliſhed the inequality in point of underſtanding between the two ſexes. If they had attended to the circumſtances I have

before-mentioned, and which frequently occur, they would have perceived, that, in the caſes ſpecified, women, of much better underſtandings than the men they converſed with, would appear greatly inferior to them.

LXXIII. Nor do I conceive, what other foundation this pretended inequality can be built on, than that I have mentioned, the equivocation and fallibility of which, I have juſt pointed out. For if I am told, the thing has been demonſtrated by experience, I am prepared with a reply, and ſhall anſwer, that the experience they alledge is deceitful, and that I have expoſed its fallacy in many inſtances; beſides this, with regard to the matter of experience, I ſhall cite two witneſſes of great credit in favour of the women. The firſt is, the ſagacious and diſcreet Portugueze Don Franciſco Manuel, who wrote a little treatiſe, called, A Guide to Married People.

LXXIV. In this Cavalier, all the circumſtances that can be deſired concur, to make his vote of ſingular weight in the queſtion we are treating of; becauſe, in addition to his being a man of remarkable knowledge and information, he had travelled through many countries, where he was generally charged with and negotiated important concerns; in conſequence of which, and by means of his elevated

elevated genius and courteous deportment, he had opportunities of being introduced to, and converſing with, ladies of rank and faſhion in all places, as may be ſeen by his writings.

LXXV. It appears by this author, that, not ſatisfied with conſidering the women as equal to the men in their intellectual capacities, he inclines to allow them ſome advantage over the other ſex in this particular. In the book before quoted, fol. 73, after reciting, that the general opinion with reſpect to the women is otherwiſe; he ſays, *I am of a different ſentiment, and am certain, that many women are exceedingly judicious and ſenſible, I having ſeen and converſed with abundance of ſuch, both in Spain and other countries; and it appears to me, that, on account of their having the advantage of us in quickneſs of perception, and readineſs of repartee, it is neceſſary to uſe great caution in talking with them:* and a little lower he ſpeaks thus; although it would be unjuſt to diſpute the purity of the metal with which Nature formed their underſtandings, we may nevertheleſs take precaution to ſave and guard them, in ſituations where they may be led into danger, and ourſelves may be injured. The teſtimony of this author, as I have before ſaid, is of great weight, becauſe to his great experience and diſcretion, we may add, that in the treatiſe we have quoted, he is not very

favourable to the women; and even at the end of it, he does not ſcruple, nor is he aſhamed to accuſe himſelf of being too ſevere upon them.

LXXVI. The ſecond evidence, is that moſt learned Frenchman, the Abbé Bellegarde, a man who was alſo uſed to courts, and learned his knowledge of the world in the great theatre of Paris. This author, in a book he publiſhed, intitled, *Curious Obſervations on Literature and Morality*, affirms, that the minds of women, for the purpoſe of obtaining a knowledge of all ſorts of ſciences and arts, and alſo every kind of buſineſs, are in no manner inferior to thoſe of men. I have not ſeen this author, but the editors of the Memoirs of Trevoux, in the month of April, 1702, quote him on the ſubject. The author of the Journies in the Coaches of Madrid and Alcala, who, let him be who he would, was a man of note, maintains the ſame ſentiment (pag. 45); and father Buffier, a celebrated French writer, in a book intitled, *An Examination of vulgar Prejudices*, which he wrote expreſsly for the purpoſe of doing it, proves the ſame thing.

SECT. XII.

LXXVII. Having then anſwered the arguments alledged to be built upon experience, there only remains,

remains, that they prove to us the pretended inequality by ſome phyſical reaſon. But I affirm no ſuch can be aſſigned, becauſe recourſe can only be had in this matter, either to an entative inequality of ſouls, to a diſtinct organization, or to a different temperament of the bodies of both ſexes.

LXXVIII. From the entative inequality of ſouls, nothing can be deduced, for it is a generally-received opinion among philoſophers, that all rational ſouls, in point of phyſical perfection, are equal. I well know, that ſome quote St. Auſtin as entertaining an oppoſite ſentiment, in his 15th book, chap. 13, on the Trinity; but I can't find, that St. Auſtin in that chapter, does even ſo much as touch upon the matter. I know likewiſe, that the faculty of Paris condemned a propoſition, which affirmed the ſoul of our Lord Chriſt was not more perfect than the ſoul of the treacherous Judas. To this the great Scottiſh maſter anſwered, that, as the condemnation was not confirmed by the holy ſee, we are not bound to obſerve it. In ſtrictneſs this is ſo; but I think it would be right that ſuch a propoſition ſhould be blotted out of every book in which it is found, as diſſonant, harſh, and offenſive to weak people, who in ſouls, can't diſtinguiſh the phyſical from the moral; but this does not in any

manner affect the truth of the general opinion, which affents to a total phyfical equality of fouls.

LXXIX. But if we were to admit of an entative inequality of fouls, how would they prove to us, or make us believe, that God chofe the beft for the men, and left the leaft-perfect for the women? We ought rather to believe in this matter, that the foul of holy Mary was the beft which could be poffeffed by a pure creature; and, in fact, the famous Saurez affims, that, phyfically fpeaking, it was moft perfect; fo that the women may be firm in afferting, that the foul is neither mafculine nor feminine, becaufe fuch an affertion is well founded.

LXXX. With regard to organization, I am inclined to think, that the variation of it, may greatly vary the operations of the foul; though we don't to this day know, which organization is beft fuited to, or conduces moft to, diftinguifhing and reafoning well. Ariftotle pretends, that thofe with fmall heads are the beft reafoners, a conjecture, which before he committed it to writing, he took care fhould correfpond with the meafure of his own head. Others give their vote in favour of large heads; thefe we may conclude, are not of the little-headed race, if they had, we might fuppofe they would have been on the fide of Ariftotle. Cardinal S'frondati, in his Curfo

Curſo Philoſophico, ſays, that the reaſoning organs of Cardinal Richlieu were double, to which he attributes the ſignal perſpicuity, and intellectual agility of that miniſter. I apprehend, that he muſt mean double in magnitude, and not in number, for that would be monſtrous; and this correſponds with what many others ſay, that the larger the brain is in quantity, the better people reaſon, which they collect from having obſerved, that the human brain is bigger in proportion than that of any other animal. Martinez and others, in their books of anatomy, excluding the great heads and the little ones, maintain, that thoſe of the middle ſize are the beſt adapted for the operations of the underſtanding. Thoſe who go about taking meaſure of the members of the body, in order to compute the value of the ſoul, may ſay what they pleaſe; but experience ſhews, that among men with large heads, you will find ſome ſtupid, and others ingenious, and that the ſame thing is to be obſerved among thoſe with ſmall ones. If a difference in the magnitude of the head or the brain, was to induce an inequality in the operations of the underſtanding, we ſhould find a great difference in point of comprehenſion, among men of unequal ſtature, becauſe in proportion as they were larger or ſmaller, ſo would their ſculls and brains be; but this is contrary to obſervation.

LXXXI. But with all this, and even admitting what Pliny ſays to be true, that the material ſubſtance of the brain, is larger in men than it is in women, touching which matter, I beg leave to ſuſpend my judgment, till the aſſertion is affirmed by ſome able anatomiſts; but I ſay, admitting the thing to be true, it proves nothing; for if the comprehending better, was to be governed by this material exceeding in the ſubſtance of the brain, it would follow, that an ingenious man, ſhould have forty or fifty times more brain than an ideot, and that men of large bulk ſhould be people of much more perſpicuity than thoſe of ſmall ſtature, as we muſt ſuppoſe their brains to be in proportion to their ſize; but thoſe, he who writes this can perſuade to believe it, ſhould return him thanks, for broaching a doctrine ſo well ſuited to their capacities.

LXXXII. I agree however, that the greater or leſs degree of clearneſs, or facility of underſtanding, depends in a great meaſure upon the difference of organization; though not upon a ſenſible different organization of the larger parts, but upon the inſenſible different one of the moſt minute parts, ſuch as the different texture or firmneſs of the moſt ſubtile fibres, or the freeneſs from obſtruction, or clearneſs of the delicate paſſages through which the animal ſpirits circulate, and alſo

alſo upon the tenſion and elaſticity of the membranes which form thoſe paſſages; although, we can know nothing about whether theſe are different in men and women, nor can even the anatomical ſpectacles, pry into the ſecret, or aſſiſt us with ſuch a diſcernment or diſcovery; neither can the Carteſians, with all the microſcopes they are capable of inventing, explore, whether the pineal gland, which they aſſign as the ſeat of the ſoul, is of a different texture in women, from what it is in men.

LXXXIII. That a different ſenſible organization, does not produce a variety in the rational operations, is manifeſt, at leaſt, if this difference is not very enormous; there being men differently organized, who are of equal abilities; and men organized as nearly alike as poſſible, who, with reſpect to the faculties of the ſoul, are very diſſimilar. The frigid Æſop, was in every part of his body, ſo deformed and ill-ſhaped, that he ſcarce appeared a human creature; on which account, his name in ſucceeding ages, was uſed to expreſs an extreme degree of deformity; with all this, it is well known, that he was of a delicate and penetrating mind. Socrates, did not differ much from Æſop in the irregularity of his make; notwithſtanding which, antiquity knew no man of a clearer or better underſtanding. But ſuppoſing we were to admit, that a diſtinct ſenſible organi-

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zation produced a distinct intellectual ability, what could you in this case infer from it? Why nothing, because women are not formed differently from men in the organs which administer to, or assist the faculty of reasoning, but are distinctly formed in those only, which Nature has appropriated for the propagation of the species.

SECT. XIII.

LXXXIV. Neither in the difference of temperament, can be founded the imagined inferiority of feminine understanding; but I don't deny, that the temperament has much influence, and conduces greatly to the just or disorderly exercise of the faculties of the soul; so far from it, I am rather persuaded, that a distinct temperature, occasions more variety in the operations of those faculties, than a different organization: for there is no man, who must not have experienced in himself, that, according as his mind is variously disposed, or he is in good or bad spirits, without finding the least bodily alteration, he is more or less fit for all sorts of operations; with all this, there is scarce an intemperance that offends the body, which does not at the same time, more or less disturb the functions of the soul; but what species of temperament or disposition, conduces most to understanding or reasoning well, it is not easy to ascertain.

LXXXV. If

LXXXV. If this point is to be ſettled by the doctrine of Ariſtotle, we might conclude, the feminine temperament is beſt adapted for the purpoſe. This philoſopher, who ſubjects all the effects which appear in the extenſive field of Nature, to the dominion of his four firſt qualities, ſays, in the 24th Sect. of his Problems, quæſt. 15, that men of a cold temperament have better intellects, and reaſon better, than men of a hot temperament; notwithſtanding which, he enters upon the ſame queſtion, with ſuppoſing, that in hot climates the men are more ingenious than in cold ones, which I can hardly believe, becauſe it would follow from thence, that the Africans are more ingenious than the Engliſh or the Dutch: but purſuing the thread of his diſcourſe, and explaining the efficacy of the qualities by the power of the antiperaſtis, he affirms, that in the coldeſt countries the men are moſt ardent, and in the hot ones moſt cold. *Etenim, qui ſedes frigidas habent, frigore loci obſiſtente, longe calidiores, quam ſua ſint natura, redduntur.* He thinks people of warm conſtitutions, ſo much inferior to thoſe of cool ones with reſpect to their reaſoning powers, that he makes no ſcruple to declare, the laſt compared to the firſt, are like men whoſe heads are turned by drinking too much wine. He proceeds immediately after the words before-cited, thus: *Itaque vinolentis admodum ſimiles eſſe videntur, nec ingenio valent quo proſpiciant, rerumque rationes*

rationes inquirant. This philoſopher, when he claſſed the hot and ſtupid together, had quite forgot his diſciple Alexander, though he not only forgot, but bore him in mind at the ſame time: for it is very certain, that he wrote the greateſt part of his works, after Alexander, on account of the doubts he entertained of his fidelity, had diſcarded him; and after he had retired to Athens, where he experienced a freſh diſguſt, to wit, being witneſs to Alexander's ſending without taking the leaſt notice of him, thirty talents of gold to his ſchool-fellow Xenocrates as a gratuity; but it is doubtful, whether his reſentment carried him ſo far, as to conſpire with Antipater againſt Alexander's life, and to conſult with him about the beſt method of carrying their purpoſe into execution by poiſon. But let us return to our ſubject.

LXXXVI. The ſame Ariſtotle teaches, and in this, all the naturaliſts and medical people agree with him, that the diſſimilarity of temperament in the two ſexes, conſiſts, in the men being hot and dry, and in the women being cold and moiſt: *Eſt autem vir calidus, & ſiccus, mulier frigida, humidaque.* Sect. 5. Queſt. 26. The cold temperament, in the opinion of Ariſtotle, being then the beſt adapted for reaſoning, and the hot the oppoſite, the women being cold, and the men hot, it follows, that the feminine tempera-

ment is better ſuited to comprehend and reaſon well, than the maſculine.

LXXXVII. This proof is concluſive, to thoſe who believe every thing Ariſtotle has ſaid; but I proteſt for myſelf, that it has not the leaſt weight with me; for I neither believe that the geniuſes are better in hot countries than in cold ones, nor that men of cold temperaments are more ingenious than thoſe of hot ones; and much leſs do I believe, that thoſe of fiery diſpoſitions are in a manner inſenſible; and as to the pretended power of the antiperaſtis, let it for the preſent remain in the ſtate of doubt, which is annexed to, and inſeparable from it.

LXXXVIII. Moiſture and dryneſs, are the other two diſtinct qualities of the two compoſitions or temperaments; and by attending to them, it may alſo be inferred from the doctrine of Ariſtotle, that the women are more perſpicuous than the men. Thoſe who maintain, that the larger the quantity of the brain, the better the faculty of the underſtanding, found their opinion, upon having been taught, that a man has a larger brain in proportion than any other animal: and they argue thus, Ariſtotle ſays, that man is of a more humid temperament than any other animal. *Homo omnium animantium maxime humidus*

humidus natura eſt. Sect. 5, Quæſt. 7. From hence, if it may be inferred, that from a man's having a larger brain than brutes, is to be imputed his having more underſtanding; in the ſame manner it may be inferred, from his being more moiſt than them, as humidity is productive of knowledge, that he knows more. A woman then is of a more humid compoſition than a man, and conſequently muſt be more intelligent than him.

LXXXIX. Although this argument proves nothing, and ought only to be uſed by way of retortion on thoſe who maintain oppoſite opinions; for the principles on which ſuch concluſions are founded, to ſpeak liberally, are uncertain and doubtful. Who told Pliny, that the brain of a man was larger than that of any other animal? Has any one, think you, undertaken the prolix labour of breaking the ſkulls of the whole ſenſitive ſpecies, in order afterwards to weigh their brains? Or who told Ariſtotle, that man is more humid than any of the brute creation? Can it be ſuppoſed, that this philoſopher had ſqueezed them all in a preſs, in order to aſcertain the quantity of moiſture contained in each? There ſeems more probability in ſuppoſing, that certain domeſtic brutes, the greateſt part of inſects, and almoſt every ſpecies of fiſh, are more humid than men. Nor even admitting it to be true, that the

the human brain is larger in proportion than that of any other animal, could it be inferred from thence, that a great ſhare of underſtanding in the human ſpecies is the effect of a larger portion of brain. A man in many other parts of the body, differs greatly in the proportion of his make from brutes, but an exceſs of thoſe parts in ſome individuals, does not argue a greater degree of excellence. It would be neceſſary, in order to make this inference, to have obſerved, that, among the brutes themſelves, thoſe which had the largeſt brains, had the ſtrongeſt or beſt inſtinct; but I believe this is not the caſe, for if it was, a total want of perception would be the conſequence of a total lack of brain, which is not ſo; for, according to Pliny, there are many ſenſitive beings, without blood and without brains, notwithſtanding which, they preſerve their inſtinct.

SECT. XIV.

XC. But waiving theſe proofs, which proceed upon Ariſtotelic doctrines, which are either falſe or uncertain, and which on this account, can only be ſerviceable to the cauſe of the women, by way of retorting upon thoſe rigid partizans of Ariſtotle, who approve of all their maſter has ſaid: I ſay, waiving theſe proofs, let us proceed to enquire, if, from the cauſe of the humidity in which a woman

a woman exceeds a man, there can be deduced any objection to her intellectual aptitude. On this ground, thoſe commonly take their ſtand, who are deſirous of proving by phyſical arguments, the inferiority of feminine underſtanding; and their reaſoning ſeems to have an air of probability, becauſe an exceſs of humour, either of itſelf, or by means of the vapour it attracts, is apt to retard the courſe of the animal ſpirits, by occupying in part, the narrow paſſages through which theſe exceeding fine ſubſtances flow.

XCI. But with all this, the argument is evidently fallacious; for if it was not, it would prove, not that the minds of women were leſs diſcerning than thoſe of men, but that they were more ſlow and dull of comprehenſion than them, which is falſe; for moſt men allow, that in point of quickneſs they have the advantage.

XCII. Further; many men, who are keen, ready, and profound, abound with habitual defluxions and catarrhs, which are cauſed by a quantity of excrementitious moiſture collected in the moſt remote receſſes of the head, and within the very ſubſtance of the brain, as may be ſeen in Riberius, where he treats of catarrhs. The exceſſive humidity of the brain then, does not obſtruct the ready or right uſe of the underſtanding;

ing; and if an excrementitious moiſture does not obſtruct it, much leſs can a natural one have that effect.

XCIII. And as a reaſon why a natural one does not hinder it, we may add, that, according to the doctrine of Pliny, the brain of a man is more humid than that of every other living creature: *Sed homo portione maximum & humidiſſimum.* Lib. 11, Cap. 37. Nor is it credible, that Nature ſhould place in an organ deſtined for our moſt perfect knowledge, a temperament, capable of obſtructing, or making the operations of our reaſon ſlow and defective. If I ſhould be told, that, notwithſtanding this native humidity, in which the brain of man exceeds that of a brute, it remains tempered in the exact proportion which is beſt ſuited to the operations of reaſon, and that the humidity of the brain of a woman exceeds that proportion; I anſwer, even ſuppoſing that humidity, by means of its natural quality, does not obſtruct, nobody knows in what proportion, or to what degree, the brain, for the beſt exerciſing its functions ſhould be moiſt; and therefore it is vague to ſay, there is a greater proportion of it in women than in men, or in men than in women.

XCIV. There may be oppoſed however, to this doctrine of humidity, the opinion of many, who

affirm, that the humid and cloudy countries produce heavy dull ſpirits; and, on the contrary, that in the bright and clear countries, are born ingenious and ſprightly ones. But be thoſe few or many who ſay this, they ſay it without more foundation, than having imagined, the clouds of the horizon are tranſlated to the ſphere of the brain; as if in rainy countries, the opacity of the atmoſphere was a dark ſhade, which obſcured the ſoul, and that in countries which are bleſſed with a ſerene ſky, the greater ſplendor of the day, would communicate greater clearneſs to the underſtanding. They might, with more aptneſs and propriety, ſay, that in the regions which are moſt bright and clear, the objects being more viſible, they, through the windows of the eyes, enter in ſuch numbers, that they diſtract the ſoul, and render it leſs fit for reflection and reaſoning; and hence it is, that, in the obſcurity of the night, we find the thread of our reaſon the leaſt interupted, and that we deduce our concluſions with more firmneſs than in clear day-light.

XCV. Let thoſe, who maintain humid regions to be ill-ſuited to the production of ſubtile men, caſt their eyes on the Venetians and the Hollanders, who are ſome of the moſt able men in Europe: the firſt of theſe, ſtole part of their territories from the ſiſh; and the laſt may be ſaid to live

live in lakes and bogs. Even here in Spain, we have an example of this ſort in the Aſturians, who, notwithſtanding they inhabit a province, the moſt beſet with clouds, and the moſt ſubject to rain, of any in the whole peninſula, are generally reputed for ſubtile, ready, and expert people. But our wonder at this will leſſen, if we conſider the beavers, who live almoſt continually in the water, notwithſtanding which, Nature has produced no brutes of ſo noble an inſtinct, nor who approach ſo near to men, both in their love for them, and in the imitation of their cuſtoms: for you may read in Conradus Geſnero, that they take particular care of their aged parents, and they have been ſeen to direct men in their navigation, and to aſſiſt them in fiſhing; and there has ſuch an attention been obſerved in them to the dead, that they withdraw and conceal the carcaſſes of their defunct ſpecies, at the hazard of their being devoured by other aquatic beaſts.

XCVI. On the contrrry, thoſe birds, who the greateſt part of their time, breathe the moſt ſubtile pure air, and the moſt diveſted of vapours, one while fleeting on the winds, and at other times placing themſelves on the tops of mountains, ought to be more ſagacious than terreſtrial brutes; which is not the caſe.

XCVII. By the ſame mode of reaſoning, the Egyptians ſhould be the keeneſt people in the world, becauſe they dwell under the brighteſt and moſt ſerene ſky that is to be found in all the globe. There is ſcarce a cloud paſſes over Egypt in the courſe of a year, and the land would be totally barren, if it was not refreſhed and fertilized by the waters of the Nile; and although for ſome ages, antiquity venerated that region as the ſeat of the ſciences, which is manifeſt from Pythagoras, Homer, Plato, and other Greek philoſophers, having traveled thither to improve themſelves in philoſophy and the mathematics; this does not prove, that they were more ſubtile and ingenious than other mortals, but rather, that the ſciences had gone wandering about the earth, and that ſometimes they took their ſtations in one country, and at others in another. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the valley of Lima, the inhabitants of which country do not know what rain is, the land being fertilized by a light dew, aſſiſted by a happy temperament of air, which is neither hot nor cold; notwithſtanding which, the natives are not people of a delicate ingenuity, but rather the contrary, for the Pizarras found them more eaſy to be ſubdued by a few ſtratagems, than Cortez found the Mexicans, with all the arts he could employ, aſſiſted by the whole power of his arms.

XCVIII.

XCVIII. I am not ignorant, that the inhabitants of Bœotia were antiently looked upon, as a moſt rude, dull people, and that *Bœoticum Ingenium* and *Bœtica Sus*, were proverbial terms of contempt, and uſed to expreſs or denote, a heavy ſtupid perſon; and alſo, that this ſtupidity was attributed to the groſs atmoſphere, loaded with vapour, which prevails in that country; hence the expreſſion of Horace in one of his epiſtles: *Bœoticum in craſſo jurares aëre natum.* But I believe, and with ſome foundation, that the antients quoted did not do that country juſtice; imputing the ignorance which proceeded from want of application, to the want of capacity; and Bœotia's lying on the confines of Attica, where learning flouriſhed, ſeems to ſtrengthen this opinion; for it is hardly probable, that within ſight of a province, which is the theatre of wiſdom, you ſhould view another, which is a colony of ignorance and ſtupidity. On the other hand, it is certain, that Bœotia has produced ſome geniuſes of the firſt rate; ſuch as Pindar, the prince of Lyric Poets, and the great Plutarch, who, in the opinion of lord Bacon, was full equal to the firſt men of antiquity; and I ſuſpect, that by looking back to the more early times of antiquity, we ſhall find a period, in which the Bœotians, in their culture of the arts and ſciences, excelled, not only their neighbours, but all the other nations of Europe;

becauſe Cadmus, when he came from Phœnicia, was the firſt who introduced the letters of the alphabet into Greece, and was the firſt perſon in Europe, who invented the art of writing; and we learn from hiſtory, that he ſettled in Bœotia, where he founded the city of Thebes. To this may be added, that in Bœotia is found Mount Helicon, dedicated to the Muſes, and from which they derive their name of Heliconides; and that from this mountain, deſcends the famous Aganippe fountain, conſecrated to the ſame fictitious deities, the water of which, they feign to have been the wine of the poets, which enraptured and inſpired them, and lighted up the fire of enthuſiaſm in their brains. It ſeems as if all theſe fictions could have no other origin, than poetry having in ſome former time flouriſhed in that region.

XCIX. But admitting the Bœotians by nature to be rude and ſtupid, how can it be proved, that this is derived from the humidity of the country, and not from ſome other hidden cauſe; eſpecially, when we ſee moiſt or damp countries, on which this ſtigma is not fixed? Let humidity then, be acquitted of the falſe accuſation which has been raiſed againſt it, to wit, of being at war with, and an enemy to ingenuity; and let it be ſettled, that from this principle, no proof can be deduced to

aſcertain, that the women in point of underſtanding, are inferior to the men.

SECT. XV.

C. Father Malebranche, reaſons in another way, and denies the women have equal underſtanding with the men, on account of their brains being more ſoft and tender than thoſe of the other ſex. I really don't know whether what he ſuppoſes about this greater degree of ſoftneſs be true or not, but I have read two treatiſes on anatomy, and did not find the leaſt mention of it in either of them. Perhaps, from having taken it for granted, that the brains of women were more humid, he concluded they were more ſoft; but this is not always a certain conſequence, for ice is humid and not ſoft, and melted metal is ſoft, but not humid; or perhaps, from having obſerved the women were of a more ſoft and docile diſpoſition than men, he inferred, that in their material compoſition they were the ſame; for there have been people ſo ſuperficial, as to form ideas upon theſe ſort of analogies, which afterwards, for want of due reflection, have been adopted by perſons of great perſpicuity.

CI. But taking all this for granted, I would be glad to know, how a greater degree of ſoftneſs in

the brain, produces or occaſions, an imperfection in the underſtanding? I ſhould rather think, that on account of its being more pliable to the impreſſion of the ſpirits, it would be an inſtrument or organ, better ſuited or adapted to mental operations. This argument, is ſtrengthened by the doctrine of the author, becauſe he ſays in another place, the veſtiges or traces, which the impreſſion of the animal ſpirits leaves on the brain, are the lines, with which the faculty of the imagination, forms on it the effigies of objects; and the larger or more diſtinct theſe veſtiges or impreſſions are, the greater will be the force and clearneſs, with which the underſtanding muſt perceive the objects. *Cur igitur imaginatio conſiſtat in ſola virtute, qua mens ſibi imagines objectorum efformare poteſt, eas imprimendo, ut ita loquar, fibris cerebri, certe quo veſtigia, ſpirituum animalium, quæ ſunt veluti imaginum illarum lineamenta erunt diſtinctiora, & grandiora, eo fortius, & diſtinctius mens objecta illa imaginabitur.* (Lib. 2. de Inquirenda Veritate, part 1. cap. 1.)

CII. Now then, it being admitted, the ſofter the brain is, with greater eaſe will the animal ſpirits make impreſſions on it, and that, for the ſame reaſon, the veſtiges or traces will be larger and more diſtinct; they will make them with greater eaſe, and bigger, becauſe the matter reſiſts leſs; more

more diſtinct, becauſe the fibres being ſomewhat rigid, they would, by means of their elaſticity, make efforts to reſtore themſelves to their former ſhape and poſition; and thus, the path or traces made by the courſe of the animal ſpirits, would be very faint, if not quite effaced. The fibres of the brain of a woman, being then more flexible than thoſe of the brain of a man, they are capable of having larger and more diſtinct images impreſſed on them, and they muſt conſequently, according to this doctrine, perceive objects better than men.

CIII. But I would not be underſtood to admit, that the women have more underſtanding than the men; I only mean to retort on father Malebranche, the doctrine, from which he pretends to infer the advantage to be on the ſide of the men, in contradiction to what in another place, he himſelf has aſſerted. My own opinion of the matter is, that, by ſuch ſort of philoſophical reaſoning, you may prove every thing, when in reality you prove nothing. Every one philoſophizes in his own mode, and if I was to write with a view of flattering, or from caprice or oſtentation, or with a deſign of making parade of my ingenuity, I could eaſily, by deducing conſequences from admitted principles, elevate the underſtandings of the women, ſuperior to thoſe of the men, by many degrees;

but this is not my nature, or diſpoſition; on the contrary, I had much rather propound my ſentiments with ſincerity; and therefore I ſay, that neither father Malebranche, nor any other perſon, even to this day, has known the punctual actings, or ſpecific manœuvres, by which the organs of the head, adminiſter to the faculties of the ſoul. We don't know as yet, how fire burns, or how ſnow occaſions cold, although they are things which are manifeſt to our ſight and our touch; and would father Malebranche, and the other Carteſians, perſuade us, that they have regiſtered and examined all that paſſes in the moſt hidden and remote corners of the cabinet of the rational ſoul? Neither do theſe maxims appear to me well founded, which, by reducing every thing to mechanical principles, figure to us the ſpirit, ſtamping materially the images of objects on the brain, in the ſame manner, that impreſſions are made on copper with a chiſſel. I am alſo aware of the ſerious difficulties, that are attendant on, and annexed to, the intentional ſpecies of Ariſtotle. But what is the reſult of all this? Why, that none of us have done more, than juſt touch the outſide covering of Nature. We all walk blindfold, and he is the moſt blind, who fancies he perceives things with the greateſt clearneſs, and may be compared to a ſervant of Seneca, named Harpacta, who was ſo infatuated, after having loſt

loſt all his viſual faculties, and having become ſtone-blind, as to fancy he could ſee. It is certain, that thoſe who live in a confidence, that they can penetrate and look into Nature, are the moſt expoſed to dangerous errors; becauſe he who walks on with much boldneſs, having but a dim light to guide him, runs the moſt hazard of falling; on the contrary, he is the furtheſt from this danger, who knowing the way is dark, proceeds with caution.

CIV. But granting to father Malebranche, and the reſt of the Carteſians, that the repreſentation of objects to the mind, is made by means of theſe material traces, which, in their courſe, the ſpirits impreſs on the brain; what follows from it is, that the brains of women being ſofter than thoſe of men, the marks, on account of the pliability of the matter, will be larger and more diſtinct in the firſt, than in the laſt; and what can be inferred from this? Why, by the doctrine of father Malebranche, you may make whichever of the two following inferences you like beſt, either that the women comprehend better than the men, or that they do not comprehend ſo well. The firſt, may be inferred from the place we a little before cited; and the ſecond, becauſe where he explains himſelf with regard to what he has ſaid againſt the women, he maintains, that the exceſſive lively imaginations, which reſult from theſe large

images or impreſſions, are unfavourable to the right comprehenſion of objects. *Cum enim tenuiora objecta ingentes in delicatis cerebri fibris excitent motus, in mente protinus etiam excitant ſenſationes ita vividas, ut ijs tota occupetur.* Lib. 2. part ii. cap. 1.

CV. But this ſecond is contrary to all reaſon, for it does not follow from this doctrine of large images, that ſmall ones do not repreſent objects well, for in ſome caſes they rather conduce to repreſent them beſt; atoms, for example, being better ſeen through a microſcope than larger bodies; and livelineſs of imagination, if it does not extend to madneſs, contributes much to a perſpicuous underſtanding of things.

CVI. But, in reality, from this greater ſoftneſs of the brain, it cannot be deduced, that the underſtandings of women are either larger or ſmaller, becauſe you cannot infer from it, that the impreſſions made by the ſpirits on the organ, are bigger or leſs; which is the principle, from whence you muſt conclude both the one and the other; the reaſon is, becauſe it ſeems moſt probable, that the impulſe of the ſpirits is proportioned to the docility of the matter, and thus, that ſpirits feebly impelled, do not make a larger impreſſion on a ſoft brain, than that which is made on a more firm and tenſe one, by ſpirits which move with greater force and

and impetuoſity; in the ſame manner, that by regulating the force of your hand, you may make as ſuperficial a mark with a tool on wax, as you may on lead. My opinion of the matter is, that from this ſyſtem of the brains of women, all you can infer is, that the corporeal movements in them, are leſs vigorous than they are in men; on which account, the nerves which have their origin in the fibres of the brain, and the ſpinal marrow, have leſs power in women, or move with more feeble impulſes in them than they do in men; but not that their mental operations are more or leſs perfect.

SECT. XVI.

CVII. I think it is now time to depart from the labyrinths of phyſics, and to enter on the open and pleaſing plains of hiſtory, and to perſuade by examples, that the underſtandings of the women, are not inferior to thoſe of the men, even for the attainment of the moſt difficult ſciences. This is the beſt method, which can be fallen upon to convince the vulgar, who are generally more influenced by examples, than arguments. To recite all that occur, would be tireſome, and therefore, I ſhall only mention ſome of thoſe women, who, in theſe latter ages, have been the moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed for their learning, and who have

flouriſhed in our own country Spain, and in the neighbouring kingdoms.

CVIII. Spain, which ſtrangers hold cheap in this particular, has, to the honour of literature, produced many women, remarkably eminent for all ſorts of learning. The principal ones are the following.

CIX. *Donna Anna de Cervaton*, lady of honour to the Germanic Queen de Fox, ſecond wife of Don Ferdinand the Catholic; ſhe was a moſt celebrated woman, but more ſo on account of her learning and rare talents, than for her uncommon beauty, which was ſo ſtriking, that ſhe was generally allowed to be the fineſt woman about the court. In Lucio Marino Siculo, may be ſeen the Latin letters which that author wrote her, and the lady's anſwers in the ſame idiom.

CX. *Donna Iſabel de Joya*, in the ſixteenth century, was eſteemed a woman of great learning. It is told of her, that ſhe preached in the church of Barcelona, to the amazement of a great concourſe of auditors. I ſuppoſe the prelates who permitted it, judged that the injunction of the Apoſtle, which in the Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, prohibits women to ſpeak in the church, admitted of ſome exceptions, in the ſame manner the

the injunction did, which prohibits them to teach in the Epiſtle to Timothy; for it is a fact, that Priſcilla, who was the companion of this ſame apoſtle, taught and inſtructed Apollo Pontonicus in the evangelic doctrine, as appears from the Acts of the Apoſtles; and that afterwards paſſing to Rome in the pontificate of Paul III. ſhe, in the preſence of the cardinals, much to their ſatisfaction, explained many of the difficult paſſages in the books of the ſubtile Scotus; but what redounded moſt of all to her honour, was her having converted in that capital of the world, a great number of Jews to the catholic faith.

CXI. *Luiſa Sigea*, a native of Toledo, but of French extraction, beſides being ſkilled in philoſophy, and ſound literature, was ornamented in a ſingular manner, with a knowledge of languages, for ſhe underſtood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac; and it is ſaid, ſhe wrote a letter to pope Paul III. in each of theſe languages. Her father, Diego Sigea, being afterwards called to the court of Liſbon, as preceptor to Theodoſius of Portugal duke of Braganza; the infanta Donna Maria of Portugal, daughter of the king Don Manuel, and of his third wife, Donna Leonora of Auſtria, who was a great lover of letters, took much pleaſure in the company of the learned Sigea; who afterwards married with Franciſco de Cuevas,

Cuevas, the Lord of Villanaſur, and a cavalier of Burgos, from which marriage, as Don Luis Salazar informs us in his hiſtory of the houſe of Farneze, there deſcended a fine progeny, which are now living in Caſtile.

CXII. *Donna Oliva Sabuco de Nantes*, a native of Alcaraz, was a woman of ſublime penetration, and of an elevated genius, eminent for her knowledge of phyſical, medicinal, moral, and political matters, as may be ſeen by her writings; but the thing which moſt illuſtrated and diſtinguiſhed her, was her new phiſiological ſyſtem, where, in oppoſition to all the antients, ſhe maintained, that it is not the blood which invigorates the body, but a white fluid iſſuing from the brain, which pervades the whole nervous ſyſtem; and ſhe attributes almoſt all diſorders to this vital dew being vitiated. This ſyſtem, which the incurioſity of Spain neglected, the curioſity of England embraced with eagerneſs, and now we receive from the hands of ſtrangers as their invention, that, which in reality was originally our own. Fatal genius of Spaniards, who, in order that what is produced in their own country ſhould ſeem pleaſing to them, muſt have it firſt monopolized by ſtrangers, and afterwards by thoſe ſtrangers ſold to them again. It ſeems alſo, that this great woman was beforehand with Renard Deſcartes, in broaching the opinion, that the brain was

was the ſeat of the rational ſoul, though ſhe did not, like Deſcartes, confine its habitation to the pineal gland only, but ſuppoſed it to occupy the whole ſubſtance. The confidence which Donna Olivia had in her own abilities to defend her ſingular opinions, was ſuch, that in an epiſtle-dedicatory addreſſed to count Barajas, preſident of Caſtile, ſhe intreats him to uſe his authority, to convene together the moſt learned natural philoſophers, and doctors of medicine in Spain, and that ſhe would undertake to convince them, that the phyſics, and medicinal doctrines, which were taught in the ſchools, went all on erroneous principles. She flouriſhed in the reign of Philip II.

CXIII. *Donna Bernarda Ferreyra*, a Portugueſe lady, the daughter of Don Ignatio Ferreyra, a knight of the order of St. Jago, beſides knowing and ſpeaking with eaſe various languages, underſtood poetry, rhetoric, philoſophy, and the mathematics. She left many poetical writings; and our famous Lopez de Vega, had ſuch a veneration for the extraordinary merit of this lady, that he dedicated to her his elegy, intituled La Philis.

CXIV. *Donna Juana Morella*, a native of Barcelona, was a woman of wonderful learning. Her father having killed a man, was obliged to fly, and carried her with him into Lyons in France, where

this extraordinary child, betaking herself to ſtudy, made ſo rapid a progreſs, that at twelve years of age (which was in the year 1607) ſhe defended concluſions in philoſophy publicly, which ſhe afterwards committed to writing, and dedicated to Margaret of Auſtria, queen of Spain. At the age of ſeventeen, according to the relation of Guidon Patin, who lived at that time, ſhe entered upon public diſputations in the jeſuits college at Lyons. She underſtood philoſophy, muſic, and juriſprudence, and it is ſaid, that ſhe ſpoke fourteen languages. She took the veil, in the Dominican convent of ſaint Præxedis at Avignon.

CXV. The celebrated nun of Mexico, *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz*, is ſo well known to every body by her learned and ingenious poetical works, that it is needleſs to ſay any thing in her eulogium. I ſhall only mention, that the leaſt of her accompliſhments was her talent for poetry, although that was the thing, for which ſhe was moſt celebrated. Many Spaniſh poets have been ſuperior to her in point of poetical genius, but perhaps no one has equalled her, with regard to her univerſal knowledge, in all kinds of faculties. Her poetry was natural, but ſhe wanted energy. In the critical part of the ſermon of father Viera, he gives her credit for her ingenuity; but to ſpeak the truth, ſhe was not equal in that reſpect, to that

learned jeſuit himſelf, of whom ſhe was the opponent: nor is there any thing extraordinary, in a woman's being found inferior to a man, who, for elevation of thought, reaſoning with perſpicuity, and explaining himſelf with clearneſs, has not yet been equalled by any preacher whatever.

CXVI. The panegyric of the late *dutcheſs of Aveiro*, is alſo needleſs, as her memory is ſtill recent at court, and all over Spain.

SECT. XVII.

CXVII. The learned ladies of France, are very numerous, becauſe there, they in general have more opportunities of ſtudying, and more time allowed them for doing it, than they have in moſt other countries; I ſhall therefore, only recite ſuch of them as were moſt famous.

CXVIII. *Suſana de Hubert*, wife of Charles Jardin, an attendant of Henry III. underſtood philoſophy and theology, and was well verſed in the writings of the fathers. She had learned the Spaniſh, Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; but her chriſtian piety, which was exceedingly exemplary, contributed more to the advancement of her true glory, than her vaſt erudition.

CXIX. *Maria de Guernay*, a Parisian of illustrious family, to whom the learned Dominic Baudio gave the name of the Syren of France, arrived to such a pitch of glory and fame, for genius and literature, that there was scarce a learned man of her time, who did not esteem it a great honour to keep-up a literary correspondence with her; and hence it was, that there were found in her cabinet when she died, letters, from the cardinals Richlieu, Bentivolio, and Perron; from San Francisco de Sales, and other enlightened prelates; from Charles the First, duke of Mantua, from the Count de Ales, from Erycio Puteano, Justus Lipsius, Messrs. Balzac, Maynard, Heinsius, Cæsar Capacio, Carlos Pinto, and many other men, of the most shining parts and learning in that age.

CXX. *Madalena Scuderi*, who was called with great reason the Sappho of her age, as she equaled that most celebrated Greek lady, in the elegance of her compositions, and excelled her much, in the purity of her manners. She was eminent for her learning, but incomparable for her judgment and discretion, as her many and excellent works testify. Her Artamenes, or Cyrus the Great, and her Clelia, in which tracts, in imitation of Barclay's Argenis, under the figure of novels, much true history is contained, are pieces of consummate value, and in my judgment, are preferable

to

to any thing of the kind that has been written in France, or any other country, the Argenis only excepted. The nobleneſs of the thoughts, the harmonious combination of the narrative, the pathetic efficacy of the perſuaſion, the livelineſs of the deſcriptions, and the native purity, majeſty, and force of the ſtyle, make a compoſition, which all together, is admirable and enchanting; to this we may add, by way of enhancing the value of the performance, that the amorous paſſages, are deſcribed with all the delicacy and decency poſſible, the moral virtues, repreſented in the moſt engaging and attractive light, and the heroic ones, with the moſt brilliant ſplendor. As a proof of the prodigious talents of this woman, the honour of having her entered as a member of their ſocieties, was induſtriouſly ſought after, by all thoſe academies, whoſe inſtitutions, allowed of admitting among them perſons of her ſex. She in the year 1671, gained the prize of eloquence in the French academy, which amounted to the ſame thing, as that truly-noble body, having pronounced her the moſt eloquent perſon in all France. The moſt Chriſtian king, Lewis XIV. whoſe attention, no elevated merit eſcaped, ſettled on her a penſion of twelve hundred livres a year, and cardinal Mazarine had long before, by his will, bequeathed her a legacy of the ſame value, and ſhe received another donation to about the ſame amount, from

the learned chancellor of France, Louis de Boucherat; by the help of which, ſhe was enabled to paſs through a regular, glorious, and long life, which terminated in the year 1701.

CXXI. *Antonieta de la Guardia*, beautiful both in ſhape and features, with which bodily perfections, the ſweetneſs of her diſpoſition, and the charms of her ſoul correſponded; ſo that it ſeemed as if nature had taken pride, with reſpect to her, of uniting in one woman, all the graces of perſon, and attractions of mind. She was ſo eminent for poetry, that, at a time in which this art was much cultivated, and in high eſtimation in France, there was not any man whatever in that extenſive kingdom, who excelled her in it. Her works were collected in two volumes, which I have not ſeen. She died in 1694, leaving a daughter, the heir of her genius and accompliſhments, who won the prize for poetry in the French academy.

CXXII. Lady *Maria Madalena Gabriela de Montemar*, daughter of the duke de Montemar, and a Benedictine nun, who was born with all the natural qualifications or diſpoſitions, neceſſary for attaining the moſt abſtracted, and difficult ſciences, for ſhe was endowed with a happy memory, a ſubtile ingenuity, and a right judgment. In her early time of life, ſhe learned the Spaniſh, Italian, Latin,

Latin, and Greek languages; and at fifteen years old, being preſented to Maria Tereſa of Auſtria, queen of France, juſt at her firſt arrival in that kingdom, ſhe amazed all the court, to hear her ſpeak the Spaniſh language with elegance and propriety. She acquired a knowledge of all that is now underſtood, both of the antient, and new philoſophy, and was conſummately verſed in ſcholaſtic, dogmatic, expoſitive, and myſtic theology. She made ſome tranſlations, the moſt admired of which, were the firſt books of the Iliad. She wrote upon various ſubjects, and diſcuſſed points of morality, criticiſm, and ſuch as related to academic matters. Her letters were held in the higheſt eſteem, and Louis XIV. received and read them with great pleaſure. She compoſed admirable verſes, though they were but few in number, and thoſe, after once reading them, ſhe uſed to throw into the fire; which was a ſacrifice, her humility induced her to make of many other of her works; and ſhe would have made it of all of them, if by friendly interpoſition, ſhe had not been prevented from following the dictates of her own inclination. Her piety, and talent for governing, ſhone forth in equal proportion to her learning; and in conſideration of theſe eminent qualities, ſhe was elected abbeſs of the congregation of Fontevrauld, of the order of St. Benedict, which has this peculiarity belonging to it, that although it is compoſed of a

great number of monaſteries of both ſexes, which are ſcattered about in four provinces, that they all acknowledge as their univerſal prelate, the abbeſs of Fontevrauld, a diſtinguiſhed monaſtery, which is no leſs famous for being the theatre of nobility, than of virtue; for they reckon among their prelates, fourteen princeſſes, five of whom were of the royal houſe of Bourbon. Lady Montemar filled this high employment, much to the ſatisfaction, and edification of the world, and alſo to the benefit and increaſe of her congregation, exhibiting a woman, commanding the men with dignity, and who in the opinion of thoſe who were under her direction, if ſhe was not ſuperior, was at leaſt equal in point of underſtanding to the wiſeſt man living. She died in 1704, full of merit and much eſteemed.

CXXIII. *Maria Jacquelina de Blemur*, a Benedictine nun, who the moſt learned Mabillon, in Eſtud. Monoſtic. Biblior. Eccleſiaſt. Sect. 12, tells us, compoſed a work, called the Benedictine Year, of ſeven volumes in quarto; and another, intitled Eulogiums on many illuſtrious Perſons of the Order of Saint Benedict, of two volumes in quarto.

CXXIV. *Anna la Fevre*, commonly known by the name of *Madam Dacier*, daughter of the moſt learned

learned Tanaquil le Fevre, proved equal to her father in erudition, and ſuperior to him in eloquence; and alſo in the faculty of writing with elegance and delicacy, her own language. She was a critic of the firſt rate, ſo that in this particular, at leaſt with reſpect to profane authors, there was not a man of her time, neither in France nor out of it, who excelled her. She made many tranſlations from Greek authors, which ſhe illuſtrated with a variety of comments. Her paſſion for Homer, excited her to write many diſſertations, the object of which was maintaining the ſuperiority of the Greek poet Homer, over the Latin one Virgil, in which, the vivacity of her genius, and the rectitude of her judgment, ſhone forth with equal ſplendor; ſhe was chiefly ſtimulated to do this, from a deſire of replying to, and confronting Monſ. La Mote, who was a member of the French Academy, and of a contrary opinion; this ſhe did ſo well, that ſome partizans of the Latin poet, who had ſided with Monſ. la Mote, could not deny, that his judgment in compariſon of her's, had but little weight, for want of his having a competent knowledge of Greek, the language Homer wrote in, which his opponent underſtood to perfection. With regard to the merits of the caſe, it ſhould be obſerved, that there are only ſome Latin authors who give the preference to Virgil, but that there is not a ſingle Greek one, who will allow him to be ſuperior, or even equal

equal to Homer. The circumſtance of this laſt, having in his favour all the Greeks, and many Latins, among whom, one of the moſt conſpicuous is the celebrated hiſtorian Velleius Paterculus, who beſtows on him the high eulogium, that there never yet was any one who could imitate him; and declares further, that, in his opinion, there never will be any one capable of doing it in time to come: I ſay, when all this is conſidered, it ſhould have great weight in determining the queſtion in Homer's favour. Anna le Fevre, I think, has been dead but a few years.

SECT. XVIII.

CXXV. Italy is little inferior to France, in numbers of learned women; but, for the ſame reaſon for which we curtailed the recital of the French ladies, we ſhall do ſo by the Italian ones.

CXXVI. *Dorothea Bucca*, a native of Bologna, having from her infancy been deſtined to the ſtudy of letters, advanced in the profeſſion with ſuch giant ſtrides, that the famous univerſity of that city, made in her favour, the ſingular, and till then unheard-of precedent, of conferring on her the degree of a doctor; and ſhe continued in the univerſity as a profeſſor of divinity, for a long time. She flouriſhed in the fifteenth century.

CXXVII.

CXXVII. *Iſota Nogarola*, born at Verona, was the oracle of her age; for, over-and above being very learned in philoſophy, and theology, ſhe added to it, the accompliſhment of underſtanding various languages, and being deeply read in the Fathers; and in point of eloquence, it is aſſerted, that ſhe was not inferior to the greateſt orators of that age. The proofs of her ability in this ſcience, are not vulgar, for ſhe ſpoke many times before the popes Nicholas V. and Pius II. in the council of Mantua, which was convened, for the purpoſe of uniting the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turk. That illuſtrious protector of letters, cardinal Beſſarion, having ſeen ſome of the works of Iſota, was ſo charmed with the ſpirit of them, that he took a journey from Rome to Verona on purpoſe to ſee her. This lady, died at the age of thirty-eight, in the year 1466.

CXXVIII. *Laura Ceretti*, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, at the age of eighteen, taught philoſophy publickly, with great applauſe.

CXXIX. *Caſſandra Fidele*, a Venetian lady, was ſo celebrated for the knowledge of the Greek language, and likewiſe for underſtanding philoſophy, theology, and being deeply read in hiſtory, that there was ſcarce an illuſtrious prince of that time, who did not give her teſtimonies of his eſteem;

eſteem; and they reckon among the admirers of Caſſandra, the popes Julian II. Leo X. Louis XI. king of France, and our Catholic king Ferdinand, and his queen Iſabel. She wrote ſeveral works, and died at the age of a hundred and two, in the year 1567.

CXX. *Cathalina de Cibo*, dutcheſs of Camerine, in the March of Ancona, underſtood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philoſophy, and theology. Her virtue gave ſplendor to her learning; ſhe built the firſt convent the Capuchins poſſeſſed, and died in the year 1557.

CXXXI. *Martha Marchina*, a Neapolitan of low birth, but elevated genius, who, ſurmounting the impediments annexed to her humble fortune, managed ſo as to get herſelf inſtructed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which ſhe attained a competent knowledge of, with wonderful velocity, and was no vulgar poeteſs; but her excellent talents were not capable of raiſing her above the ſphere of life in which ſhe was born, the influence of her adverſe ſtars, obſtructing the advancement of her fortune. She removed to Rome, where ſhe ſupported herſelf and family by making waſh-balls: but it is probable, if ſhe had had the ſame opportunities of ſtudying which have fallen to the lot of other women, that

that ſhe would have been a prodigy among the females, and even among the men alſo. She died at the age of forty-ſix, in the year 1646.

CXXXII. *Lucretia Helena Cornaro*, of the illuſtrious family of the Cornaro's of Venice, who, though in the ſeries of this memorial, is the laſt of the learned Italian women, on account of her being the moſt modern, we may truly ſay, without doing injuſtice to any one, that ſhe in dignity is the firſt. This woman, who was an honour to her ſex, was born in 1646. From her tender infancy, ſhe manifeſted a violent inclination for letters, with which inclination, the wonderful rapidity of her progreſs correſponded; for ſhe not only inſtructed herſelf with uncommon facility, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but ſhe learned alſo, almoſt all the living languages of Europe. She diſtinguiſhed herſelf ſo conſpicuouſly in mathematics, philoſophy, and ſacred theology, that the univerſity of Padua, had reſolved to confer on her the degree of a doctor of divinity, which would have been done, if cardinal Barbarigo, the biſhop of that city, had not oppoſed carrying the reſolve into eexcution, on account of ſome ſcruples he entertained of the propriety of the thing, it being contrary to the maxim of St. Paul, which prohibits women from adminiſtering, or teaching in the church; and thus, to prevent violating

violating this canonical rule, and at the same time, not to be wanting in the proper regard due to the deserving merit of Helena, they fell upon the expedient of making her a doctor of philosophy; the ceremony of conferring which degree on her, was graced and honoured, with the attendance of many princes and princesses, from various parts of Italy. Her eminence in scientific knowledge, could only be exceeded, which in reality it was, by her exemplary piety. At twelve years of age, she took the vow of virginity. And although afterwards, a German prince, solicited with ardour, the hand of Helena, and offered to obtain from the pope a dispensation of her vow, and was likewise assisted in his suit with the intreaties of all her relations, it was impossible to subdue her constancy. In order to cut off at a stroke, the hopes of many other importunate admirers, she was desirous of immediately entering herself a Benedictine nun; but being prevented by her father, she did all she could, which was, to renew by a written instrument, her promise of virginity, together with the addition of the other religious vows, usually taken by nuns; which, after having executed, she delivered into the hands of the abbot of the monastery of St. George, as an oblation to the Benedictine religion. This sacrifice of her liberty, was followed by her leading so exemplary a life within the walls of her father's house, as might excite the envy of the most

moſt auſtere nun. Here love of retirement was ſo great, and ſuch was her ſhame of appearing in public, that, although in obedience to her father's commands, ſhe ſuffered herſelf ſometimes to be ſeen; her conforming to do it gave her ſuch pain, that ſhe was uſed to ſay, that obedience would coſt her her life. In effect, this was but ſhort, for ſhe paſſed from it to another, at the age of thirty-eight years, with equal rejoicings of the angels, and lamentations of mankind, leaving many works, which are ſufficient to eternize her fame. A number of authors were the panegyriſts of this extraordinary woman, among whom, was Gregory Leti, who, in his ſelect extracts from hiſtory, gives her the epithets of the heroine of letters, and a monſter of ſcience; calling her at the ſame time, an angel of beauty and candour.

SECT. XIX

CXXXIII. Germany, in whoſe frozen region, Apollo has more power to inſpire the mind, than to thaw the limbs, preſents us with a ſpark from the ſun, in the perſon of a woman of that country.

CXXXIV. This was the famous *Anna Maria Surman*, the glory of both Upper and Lower Germany; for although ſhe was born at Cologne, her parents and anceſtors were from the Low Countries.

tries. There never had appeared, till her time, a perſon of either ſex, of more univerſal capacity. All the arts, and all the ſciences, recognized, and ſubmitted with equal obedience to the empire of her genius, and none of them ever made the leaſt reſiſtance, when this heroine undertook their conqueſt. At ſix years of age, ſhe, without any inſtruction, cut, with ſciſſars in paper, eſtimable and delicate figures. At eight, ſhe learned in a few days to paint flowers, and did actually, at the end of that time, paint ſome, which were much prized. At ten, it did not coſt her more than three hours labour, to acquire the art of embroidering with elegance, but her talents for more exalted exerciſes continued hid, till at twelve years of age, they were diſcovered in the following manner. She had two brothers, who ſtudied at home, and it was remarked, that at various times, upon their repeating their leſſons, when the memory of the boys failed them, the girl would ſet them right, which ſhe was able to do without any ſtudying, having retained the leſſons, from only caſually hearing her brothers repeat the words of them, while they were gettting them by heart. This mark, joined to the others ſhe had ſhewn, of being endowed with a capacity that was quite extraordinary, determined her father to permit his daughter to purſue her career in ſtudy, which was ſo correſpondent with the bent of her inclination;

but the ſwift motion, with which ſhe paſſed over the extenſive plains of ſacred and profane erudition, ought more properly to be called a flight, than a career; and the ſhort time in which ſhe poſſeſſed herſelf of almoſt all the human ſciences, together with ſacred theology, and a great knowledge of the ſcripture, is aſtoniſhing. She underſtood perfectly, the German, Dutch, Engliſh, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic languages. She was alſo endued with the gift of poetry, and compoſed many very ſenſible works in verſe. In the liberal arts, ſhe acquired applauſe equal to that which ſhe had obtained in ſciences and languages. She underſtood muſic ſcientifically, and played many inſtruments with dexterity. As a painter, and a ſtatuary, ſhe was excellent; as likewiſe in the art of engraving. It is related of her, that, having made her own effigy in wax, ſome artificial pearls, which ſhe had introduced as ornaments to the figure, appeared ſo natural, that nobody would believe they were wax, till after having made the experiment of pricking them with a pin. Her letters were eſteemed, and ſought after, not only for the beauty of the ſtile, but for the elegance of the hand-writing alſo, inſomuch, that all who ſaw them thought they were inimitable: hence, almoſt every trace of her pen, was induſtriouſly collected, as furniture worthy to adorn a cabinet. There

was ſcarce a great man of her time, who did not give her teſtimonies of his eſteem, and who did not ſolicit a literary correſpondence with her. The illuſtrious queen of Poland, Louiſa Maria Gonzaga, after being married at Paris by proxy to king Staniſlaus, in her paſſage to that kingdom through Germany, condeſcended to viſit Surman at her own houſe. She would never marry, although a matrimonial connection with her, was arduouſly ſolicited by many men of rank and fortune; particularly by Monſ. Catec, penſionary of Holland, and a famous poet, who had made ſome verſes in her eulogium, when Anna Maria was but fourteen years old. At length, this woman, who was worthy of being immortal, died in 1678, at ſeventy-one years of age.

SECT. XX.

CXXXV. I ſhall omit mentioning many more learned women, which ennobled Germany and other countries, to conclude with a recent example from Aſia, as a proof, that female literature is not confined and ſhut up within the limits of Europe.

CXXXVI. This ſhall be the charming, diſcreet, and generous *Sitti Maani*, wife of the famous traveller, Pedro de la Valle, a Roman knight. Maani was born in Meſopotamia, in order that that

that country, within whoſe bounds, ſome expoſitors believe the garden of Paradiſe was planted, might be the happy ſpot which had produced two eminent Rachaels; for it is certain, that Haran, where the beloved wife of Jacob was born, was a place of Meſopotamia. The fame of the nobleneſs of her genius, the vivacity of her underſtanding, and the beauty of her perſon, had been blazoned abroad when ſhe was very young; this excited the curioſity of Pedro de la Valle, and he was deſirous of ſeeing a lady, of whom he had heard ſo many encomiums. His experience, upon the interview which was permitted him, confirmed the truth of all he had heard, inflamed in his boſom the paſſion of love, and cauſed him anxiouſly to ſolicit obtaining her for a wife, which purpoſe he effected; and Maani, after marrying him, not only forſook the Chaldean rites in which ſhe had been bred up, and turned catholic herſelf, but perſuaded her parents to do the ſame. It is almoſt incredible, what this amiable Aſian acquired in a few years, and indeed the years of her life were but few; for ſhe not only attained a knowledge of all the learning, which thoſe countries, ſtill ſtrangers to the ſciences, could afford, but ſhe arrived at underſtanding twelve different idioms. But the bulk, as well as perfection, of her moral virtues, exceeded that of her acquiſitions; among which, though not common to her ſex, her courage

ſhone the moſt brilliant, for ſhe fought armed in three encounters, and with great bravery, in defence of her husband. This woman, in many ways extraordinary, eminent for her talents, and famous for her travels and voyages, in one of them, near Ormuz, became the victim of a fever, which was truly malignant, having deprived her of life at the age of twenty-one. Thus died, to the great grief of all who had known her, this new Rachael, who was ſo like the antient one, that it ſeems, as if Nature and Fortune had ſtudiouſly formed the parallel; both natives of Meſopotamia; both beautiful in extreme; both married to very deſerving men, who were ſtrangers to them, and came from other countries; both alike, with reſpect to their determination, of forſaking the rites of their country, and following the religion of their husbands; both equally conforming, to lead a wandering life, and follow the ſteps of their conſorts; and, in the end, both dying in the flower of their age, and on the road. But the behaviour of the two husbands, at the time of the fatal criſis, ſeems to have been very different; Pedro de la Valle at that period, appearing to have conducted himſelf with much more delicacy, than the patriarch Jacob. The laſt, buried his Rachael on the road, at the place where ſhe died; though it would have correſponded better with the merit of his wife, if he had paid the ſame care and attention,

tention, and had taken the ſame precaution about her dead carcaſe, that he did with regard to his own, when he ſtrictly enjoined his ſon Joſeph, to convey it to the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, which was in Hebron. The tender care and regard for his wife in this laſt office, which ſeems to have been little attended to by that fond patriarch, though we ſhould ſuppoſe it happened from ſome powerful reaſon, either myſterious or natural, which he had for omitting it, ſhone forth with reſpect to Pedro de la Valle, in acts of the moſt punctual and preciſe reality; and which, in the moſt refined and nice manner, expreſſed the affection he bore his departed conſort: for after having embalmed the dead body of his adored Maani, he carried it about with him incloſed in a coſtly urn, four whole years, all which time, he continued to travel through, and explore various parts of Aſia; with his eyes ever attentive to her aſhes, and his heart and memory to her virtues: till upon returning to Rome, he depoſited the remains of his beloved object, in the ſepulchre of the noble family of the Valles his anceſtors, which they have belonging to them, in the chapel of St. Paul, appertaining to the church of Santa Maria de *Ara Cœli*: this was done with ſuch funeral pomp, that a more magnificent ſhew of this ſort had ſcarce ever been ſeen, Pedro de la Valle himſelf, pronouncing the funeral oration; in doing which, his eyes expreſſed much

more than his lips, as in a ſhort time his lips ceaſed to move, and left the eyes to ſpeak the reſt; for it ſo happened, that his throat through exceſſive grief, was obſtructed, and he was near being choaked; ſo that he was unavoidably obliged to leave the oration unfiniſhed; but ſuch of the eloquent clauſes as were congealed and obſtructed in the paſſage, melted down, and flowed in tender tears, mixed with ſighs, the true and proper accents of grief, which were reſounded and echoed back, by a numerous concourſe of ſympathetic auditors.

N.B. Sitti is a title of honour among the Perſians, and equivalent to lady with us.

SECT. XXI.

CXXXVII. That the relation ſhould not appear tedious, we have omitted many modern learned women in this catalogue, and have deſignedly forbore to mention the antient ones, as an account of them, may be found in an infinite number of books; but we have ſaid enough to evince, what ſeems of moſt importance in this argument, which is, that almoſt all the women, who have dedicated themſelves to ſtudy, have become eminent, and made conſiderable figures in the literary world; whereas, there are ſcarce three in a hundred, among the men devoted to literature,

literature, who have been remarkable for their advances in the ſcience, or who could truly and properly, be ſtiled people of learning and ability.

CXXXVIII. But becauſe this reflection may occaſion the women to fancy themſelves perſons of much ſuperior capacity to the men, it is but juſt and neceſſary, by way of checking ſuch preſumption, to obſerve, that this inequality of improvement by ſtudy, proceeds, from none of their ſex being devoted to it, except thoſe, in whom the people who have had the care of their education have remarked peculiar talents for ſuch purſuits, or thoſe, who have found in themſelves a great propenſity for literature, and a particular diſpoſition for attaining a knowledge of the ſciences; on the other hand, the men are not left to their choice in theſe matters; the parents, with a view of advancing their fortune, without attending to their capacities, or conſidering whether they are dull boys, or lads of genius, deſtine them to the career of letters; and the bulk of mankind being people of ſcanty abilities, it muſt unavoidably follow, that a few only can make a figure in the learned world.

CXXXIX. My opinion of the matter however is, that there is no inequality, in the capacities of the one and the other ſex. But if the women, to repreſs the vain contemners of their aptitude

for the arts and ſciences, ſhould be diſpoſed to paſs from the defenſive to the offenſive, and by way of playing at diſputation, to contend for a ſuperiority over the men, they may make uſe of the arguments I have mentioned above, by which, from the ſame phyſical maxims, wherewith the men pretend to bear down, and depreciate the capacities of the women, we have ſhewn, that it may with more probability be inferred, the talents and aptitude of the tender ſex, excel thoſe of the robuſt.

CXL. To this, we ſhall add the authority of Ariſtotle, who in various places teaches, that in all the animal ſpecies, expreſsly including the human, the females are more penetrating and ingenious than the males; particularly in his ninth book, *de Hiſtor. Animal. cap.* 1, where he expreſſes himſelf in theſe words: *In omnibus verò, quorum procreatio eſt, fœminam, & marem ſimili ferè modo Natura diſtinxit moribus, quibus mas differt à fœmina: quod præcipuè tum in homine, tum etiam in iis, quæ magnitudine præſtent, & quadrupedes viviparæ ſint, percipitur: ſunt enim fœminæ moribus mollioribus, miteſcunt celerius, & malum facilius patiuntur; diſcunt etiam, imitanturque ingenioſius.*

CXLI. This authority of Ariſtotle, which gives the advantage to the women, not only in docility,

docility, and ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, but allows alſo, that they exceed the men in ingenuity; ought to have great weight with thoſe, who are ſuch admirers of Ariſtotle, as to call him the penetrating genius of Nature, and the ſum and perfection of human intelligence. But I muſt caution the women, not to put too much confidence in Ariſtotle: becauſe, although in the place we have juſt cited, he ennobles them with a ſuperiority in point of perſpicuity; a little lower down, he is very liberal in his abuſe of them, and ſays, they are greatly addicted to miſchief: *Verum malitioſiores, aſtutiores, inſidiores fœminæ ſunt*; and although juſt afterwards, he concedes them the preference to the men, in the noble attribute of tenderneſs or compaſſion, he inſtantly ſtigmatizes and marks them, with the blemiſhes of envy, evil-ſpeaking, inveteracy, and other ſuch bad qualities: *Ita quod mulier, miſericors magis, & ad lacrymas propenſior, quam vir eſt: invida item magis, & querela & maledicentior, & mordacior.* Upon the whole, I am not clear, whether the ladies will accept the advantage of ingenuity which this philoſopher has thought fit to confer on them, loaded with the charges he has been pleaſed to annex to it; we may however conclude from the premiſes, that when ſuch a man, who was ſo ill diſpoſed towards them, admits as a fundamental, that they are more ingenious than men, the evidence of their abilities does not reſt on ſlight ground.

SECT.

SECT. XXII.

CXLII. It occurs to me here, that it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the aptitude of women for thoſe arts, which are more elevated than thoſe they commonly exerciſe themſelves in; ſuch as painting, and ſculpture. Very few women have dedicated themſelves to theſe applications, but of thoſe few, ſome have turned out excellent artiſts. We have already ſaid of the admirable Maria Surman, that ſhe was eminent in painting, ſculpture, and engraving.

CXLIII. In Italy, the three ſiſters, *Sophoniſba*, *Lucia*, and *Europa Angoſciola*, were celebrated painters; the firſt of which, Iſabella, queen of Spain, the wife of Philip the Second, took into her ſervice, and ſhe was in ſuch high repute, that pope Pius IV. ſolicited a portrait of that queen, done by the hand of Sophoniſba.

CXLIV. *Irene de Spilimberg* was ſo excellent in the ſame art, that her paintings were often taken for thoſe of Titian, who was her contemporary. Fate ſnatched her away at the age of twenty ſix, which event cauſed univerſal grief, and drew tears from the eyes of her competitor.

CXLV.

CXLV. *Tereſa de Po* was held in great eſtimation at Naples as a painter; and precious traits of her pencil, may be ſeen in the cabinet of the moſt excellent marquis of Villena, who employed her when ſhe was vice-queen of Naples.

CXLVI. And even in ſtatuary, Italy has produced famous women. *Propercia de Roſſi* was generally applauded for her beautiful deſigns, and well-wrought ſtatues in marble; but the diſtinguiſhed *Labinia Fontana*, acquired greater applauſe than her, or indeed than any one elſe. I have had information of but one female painter in France, though ſhe was of the firſt rate. This was *Iſabela Sophia de Cheron*, known by the name of *Madame le Hai*; who, over and above poſſeſſing talents beyond the degree of mediocrity, for muſic and poetry, was a moſt finiſhed painter; and became ſo celebrated for her ſkill in this art, that the dauphin, who was ſon to Louis XIV. employed her to paint him and all his children: and Caſimir, king of Poland, who, after his voluntary abdication of that crown, reſided in Paris, cauſed her to do the ſame for him, and many people of the firſt rank and quality in France followed their example; and even deigned to go and ſit at the houſe of Iſabela, which the prince of Condé did ſeveral times. The emperor Joſeph, endeavoured to draw her to Vienna, by the offer of a large penſion; but not being

being able to prevail on her, he ſent her the drawings of his own likeneſs, and thoſe of all the imperial family, that from them ſhe might paint their portraits. Her deſigns and colouring, were exquiſite, and her facility of execution, wonderful, for ſhe would continue to bear a part in whatever converſation occurred, without giving the leaſt relaxation to the operations of the pencil; but her chriſtian and generous actions, added to the piety of her ſpirit, made her more eſteemed, than the traits of her hand; and ſhe died as ſhe lived, in the year 1711.

CXLVII. But where the equal degree of aptitude in the women for the noble arts, compared to that of the men, is moſt conſpicuous, is in the inſtance of muſic, which is a faculty ſuited indifferently to either ſex; as the females who apply themſelves to it, in proportion to the time they ſtudy, generally make as great progreſs as the men do; nor does a maſter of this art, find more difficulty in teaching girls than boys. I knew one girl of this profeſſion, who, before ſhe arrived at the age of fifteen, was a compoſer. I have purpoſely, in the mention of ſo many illuſtrious women, avoided touching on the exquiſite endowments of our moſt enlightened queen, Donna Iſabel of Farneſe, becauſe it would have been preſumption in ſo groſs a pen as mine, to undertake the diſcuſſion of ſo ſublime a ſubject;

and

and becauſe another, much better cut, and ſuperiorly qualified for the taſk, has, between the eſcutcheons of her royal houſe, drawn ſome traces of the excellencies and ſplendor of her perſon.

SECT. XXIII.

CXLVIII. I am aware now, that againſt all I have ſaid, it may be replied to me to this effect: If women are equal to men, in their aptitude for arts, ſciences, political œconomy, and government, why has God eſtabliſhed the maſtery, and ſuperiority in the men, by the ſentence in the third chapter of Geneſis, which ſays, *Sub viri poteſtate eris?* Becauſe it is probable, he gave the government to that ſex, which he knew to be moſt capable of executing it.

CXLIX. I anſwer firſt, that the ſpecific meaning of the text is not certainly known, on account of the variation in the verſions. The reading in the Septuagint is: *Ad virum converſio tua.* In the Aquilean: *Ad virum ſocietas tua.* In the Samaritan: *Ad virum appetitus, vel impetus tuus.* And the learned Benedict Perceyra ſays, that by tranſlating the Hebrew literally, the ſentence will run thus: *Ad virum deſiderium, vel concupiſcentia tua.*

CL.

CL. I anſwer ſecondly, that it might be inſiſted, the political ſubjection of the woman was abſolutely a puniſhment for her ſin, and therefore, that in the ſtate of innocence there was no ſuch thing. The text at leaſt does not contradict ſuch an opinion; for it rather ſeems, that if it had been intended the woman ſhould obey the man in the ſtate of innocence, God would have intimated this ſubjection, at the time he formed her; and from theſe premiſes, it cannot ſo properly be inferred, that God gave the man the preference, on account of his poſſeſſing an underſtanding ſuperior to the woman's, as that it was done, becauſe ſhe gave the firſt occaſion to ſin.

CLI. I ſay thirdly, that admitting, God from the beginning gave the rule over the woman to the man, it does not follow from thence, that he endued him with an underſtanding ſuperior to her's; but it rather ſeems likely, this was done for the ſake of maintaining family order and decorum, for allowing them to be equal in point of talents, unleſs the government and direction was veſted in one, all would be anarchy and confuſion. Among the probable ſpecies of governments, the moral philoſophers, copying after Ariſtotle, have held or conſidered, that which is called the Timocracian, to be the worſt and moſt exceptionable: for by this, all the individuals of the

the republic have equal authority, and an equal voice; but in the caſe of a man and his wife, this mode of directing, with reſpect to œconomical government, would not only be imperfect, but impoſſible; for among a multitude of people, where there is a variety of opinions, the diſpute may be decided by a plurality of votes; which cannot be done between a man and his wife, for they are one, to one; and thus if they ſhould happen to be of different ſentiments, unleſs one of them had the ſuperiority, the point could never be ſettled; but it may be ſaid, why, if their capacities were equal, ſhould God think fit to give the ſuperiority to the men? Various reaſons and motives may be aſſigned for this, ſuch as his excelling the women in many other uſeful qualities, for example, conſtancy and courage; which virtues, are neceſſary for making proper determinations, and for ſupporting them after they are made, by ſubduing and bearing down all the obſtacles, produced by vain and light fears; but we ſhould do better, inſtead of reaſoning in this way, to confeſs, we for the moſt part are ignorant of the motives of divine reſolutions.

SECT. XXIV.

CLII. I ſhall conclude this diſcourſe, by endeavouring to ſet aſide an exception that may be made

made to the undertaking; which is, that perſuading mankind of the intellectual equality of both ſexes, does not ſeem to be productive of any utility to the public, but is rather likely to occaſion miſchief, as it tends to foment in the women, preſumption and pride.

CLIII. I might reply to this ſcruple, by only ſaying, that, in whatever matter that may preſent itſelf to our reflection, knowing the truth, and ſetting aſide error, is an utility which is apparent, and of itſelf ſufficient to juſtify our enquiry. The right underſtanding of things, is of itſelf eſtimable, without regard to any other end or object in the creation. Truths have their intrinſic value: and the ſtock, or riches of the underſtanding, does not conſiſt of any other money. Some pieces are more valuable than others, but none are uſeleſs. Nor can the truth we have proved, of itſelf, induce in the women vanity or preſumption. If they, in the perfections of the ſoul, are truly equal to us, there can be no harm in their knowing, or being ſenſible of it. St. Thomas, ſpeaking of vain-glory, ſays, this ſin is not incurred by a man's knowing, or being convinced of the perfection he poſſeſſes, and which is contained in him: *Quod autem aliquis bonum ſuum cognoſcat, & approbet, non eſt peccatum* (2 *Quæſt.* 132. *Art.* 1.) and in another place, ſpeak-

ing of preſumption, he ſays, this vice is always founded in ſome error or miſtake of the underſtanding: *Præſumptio autem eſt motus appetitivus, quia importat quondam ſpem inordinatam, habet autem ſe conformiter intellectui falſo (Quæſt. 22. Art. 2.)* The women then, by knowing what they are, if they don't eſtimate their qualifications above their real value, can never become vain-glorious, or preſumptuous; but by attending to the thing, it will be found, the deception this chapter is calculated to remove, will rather have a different effect; and inſtead of adding preſumption to the women, will take it away from the men.

CLIV. Though I go further, and maintain, the maxim we have eſtabliſhed, is not only incapable of occaſioning any moral evil, but that it may be productive of much good. Conſider, how many men the imagined ſuperiority of talents, has emboldened to attempt criminal conqueſts over the other ſex. In every encounter, the confidence, or diffidence of a perſon's own ſtrength or power, goes a great way towards determining the event of the conflict. The man, preſuming on the advantage of his ſuperior underſtanding, propoſes boldly; the woman, judging herſelf inferior, liſtens with reſpect. Who can deny, that ſuch circumſtances promote a great tendency

and diſpoſition, to his becoming a conqueror, and her falling a victim?

CLV. Let the women then know, that, in point of underſtanding, they are not inferior to the men. They will then determine with confidence, on repelling and refuting thoſe ſophiſms, by which, under the colour and pretence of reaſon and arguments, the men attempt injuſtice and injuries. If a woman can be perſuaded, that a man compared to her, is an oracle, ſhe will lend an attentive ear to the moſt indignant propoſition, and will reverence as an infallible truth, the moſt notorious falſhood. It is very well known, into what acts of turpitude many women have been drawn, by the ſect called Moliniſts, who, before their practices upon them, were eſteemed very virtuous perſons. This perverſion, proceeded from no other cauſe, than their having conſidered theſe Moliniſts, as men of ſuperior lights and talents, and their having entertained an extreme diſtruſt of their own underſtandings, when they repreſented to them clearly, the falſity of thoſe venomous dogmas.

CLVI. There is another conſideration to be attended to, which is of great importance in this matter. It is certain, that every one ſubmits eaſily, and without reluctance, to a perſon, who he is

is ſenſible has ſome notable advantage over him. A man ſerves another man without regret, who is more noble than himſelf, but he does it with great repugnance, if they happen to be equal in birth. The ſame thing is obſervable, or may be applied to the caſe we are treating of. If a woman is under the miſtake, that a man is of a much more noble ſex than herſelf, and that ſhe, from a defect in her's, in compariſon to him, is a poor contemptible animal of little value, ſhe will think it no ſhame to ſubmit to him; and by theſe pre-diſpoſing circumſtances, being aided with the flattery of obſequiouſneſs, ſhe may be betrayed into eſteeming that as an honour, which in reality is ignominious. To uſe the words of St. Leon's exclamation to the men, let the women then know their dignity, and let them be ſenſible, that, in point of intellectual capacity, our ſex has no advantage over them, and that it will ever be opprobrious and vile in them, to allow a man the dominion of their bodies, ſave when he is empowered to claim it, by the authority, and under the ſanction, of holy matrimony.

CLVII. I have not yet told all the utility, which, in a moral ſenſe, will reſult to both the men and the women, by extricating them from the error they lay under, with reſpect to the inequality of the ſexes. I firmly believe, this error is

the cauſe, of many marriage-beds having been diſhonoured and contaminated with adulteries. It may ſeem that I am entangling myſelf in a ſtrange paradox, but this is not the caſe; I having done no more, than aſſert an eſtabliſhed truth. Attend.

CLVIII. A few months after the ſouls of two conſorts, are united together by the matrimonial bond, a woman begins to loſe that eſtimation, which ſhe at firſt obtained, as a delectable object newly acquired, and recently poſſeſſed. The man, paſſes from tenderneſs to lukewarmneſs, which lukewarmneſs many times, comes to end in contempt, and poſitive diſeſtimation. When the huſband arrives at this vicious extreme, he, preſuming on the advantages which he ſuppoſes to be annexed to the ſuperiority of his ſex, begins to triumph over, and inſult his wife; inſtructed by, and verſed in thoſe ſentences, which pronounce, that the moſt which a woman can attain, may be attained by a boy of fourteen years old, and that it is in vain, to ſeek for either ſenſe or prudence in them, together with other ridiculous, and injurious reflections of the ſame kind; treating every thing he obſerves in his wife, with the utmoſt contempt. In this ſituation, if the poor woman attempts to remonſtrate, ſhe is accuſed of raving; all

all ſhe ſays, is impertinent, and foreign to the purpoſe; all ſhe does is wrong. If ſhe is handſome, the attraction of her beauty ſtands her in little ſtead, for its charm is diſſolved, and the ſecurity of poſſeſſing it, has made it of no value. The huſband only recollects, that his wife is an imperfect animal; and if he neglects her, will upbraid the moſt ſpotleſs woman with being a vaſe of impurities.

CLIX. When the unhappy woman is in this humiliating and dejected ſtate, a gallant caſts fond, or, as we commonly ſay in Spain, good eyes on her. To her, who at all times is condemned to ſee nothing but a frowning brow, it is natural to ſuppoſe, a pleaſant countenance appears very delightſome: and ſuch a leading circumſtance conduces much to bring on, and facilitate a converſation between the parties; in which, the woman hears nothing but what is flattering and pleaſing to her. Before this, ſhe uſed to be accoſted in nought but terms of reproach and contempt, and now, ſhe is addreſſed in expreſſions of tenderneſs and adoration. She lately was treated as ſomething beneath a woman; and now, ſhe is elevated to the ſphere of a divinity. She was accuſtomed lately to be called nothing but fool; and now, ſhe is told that ſhe poſſeſſes a ſublime underſtanding. In the

language of her husband, she was all imperfections; in that of her gallant, she is all charms and graces. The partner of her bed, lorded it over her like a tyrant master; the other, throws himself at her feet as an humble slave; and although the lover, if he had been her husband, would have acted just as the husband did: this reflection escapes the miserable wife, and she only sees that sort of difference between them, which there is between an angel and a brute. She views in her husband, a heart full of thorns; and in her gallant, one crowned with flowers. There a chain of iron presents itself to her sight; here a golden one. There slavery; here dominion. There a dungeon; here a throne.

CLX. In this situation, what can the most resolute woman do? How can she resist two impulses, directed to the same point, one that impels, and the other which attracts her? If heaven does not stretch forth a powerful and a friendly hand to support her, her fall is inevitable. And if she does fall, who can deny that her own husband forced her over the precipice? If he had not treated her with indignity and abusive railing, the flattery of the lover would have been of no avail. It was his ill treatment which occasioned her downfall. All this mischief,

chief, moſt frequently proceeds from the mean opinion, which married men are apt to entertain of the other ſex. Let them renounce theſe erroneous maxims, and the conſequence will be, that their wives will become more faithful and conſtant. Let them cheriſh and eſteem them, for God has commanded they ſhould love them; and I can't underſtand, how love and contempt, with reſpect to the ſame object, can be entertained, and accommodate themſelves together in one and the ſame heart.

ON

CHURCH MUSIC.

SECT. I.

I. IN ancient times, if we believe Plutarch, muſic was uſed only in temples, and that afterwards it paſſed to theatres. Formerly, it ſerved as an ornament to divine worſhip; afterwards, it was uſed to ſtimulate vice. Heretofore, the melody of ſacred hymns only were heard; afterwards, we began to liſten to profane ſongs. Muſic originally, was uſed as an obſequies to the Deities, it was afterwards applied to inflame the paſſions. In old times, it was dedicated to Apollo, but it ſeems as if afterwards, Apollo had divided the protection of this art with Venus; and as if to poiſon the ſoul, and paint on the theatres the charms of vice, the fineſt colourings

lourings of rhetoric, joined to the harmony of poetic numbers, were not ſufficient, they, to render theſe charms more attracting, and make the venom more active, confectioned and compounded rhetoric, poetry, and muſic together.

II. This diverſity of uſes to which muſic was appropriated, induced a difference in the compoſition of it: and as it was neceſſary in the temple, and in the theatre, to excite diſtinct affections, they contrived diſtinct modes of melody, to correſpond, as their echoes, with the different affections of the ſoul. The Dorian mode, as grave, majeſtic, and devout, was reſerved for the temple; and in the theatres, they adopted different modes, ſuited to the diverſity of the matters. In the amorous repreſentations, they uſed the Lydian mode, which was ſoft and tender; and when they had a mind to give the movement a ſtronger effect and expreſſion, they applied the mixed Lydian, which was more pathetic and ſtriking than the Lydian by itſelf. In warlike repreſentations, they uſed the Phrygian mode, which is terrible and furious; and in affairs of mirth and jollity, or favouring of the Bacchanalian, they adopted the Æolian, which was ſprightly and comic. The Subphrygian mode, was appropriated to calm the tranſports, raiſed by the Phrygian; and thus, to produce other effects, they had other modes of melody.

III. Whe-

III. Whether theſe modes of the antients, correſponded with the different tones uſed by the moderns, is not clearly aſcertained. Some authors affirm they do, others doubt it. I myſelf, am inclined to think they do not, becauſe the diverſity of our tones, have not that influence to vary the paſſions, which was experienced in the different modes of the antients.

SECT. II.

IV. Thus muſic, in thoſe remote ages, was divided between the temple and the theatre, and was applied promiſcuouſly, to worſhip at the altar, and to the corruption of manners. But although this was a lamentable falling-off, it was not the greateſt abuſe which has been practiſed on this noble art, the accompliſhment of its perverſion being reſerved for our times. When the alteration in the application of muſic, which was employed heretofore only in divine worſhip, took place, the Greeks made a very judicious diviſion and diſtribution of it; reſerving to the temple, that which was proper for the temple; and giving to the theatre, that which was ſuitable to the theatre; but what has been done in theſe latter times? Not content with keeping theatrical muſic for the uſe of the theatre, they have tranſlated it to the church.

V. The church chants of these times, with respect to their form and manner, sound like the songs of a jovial company sitting round a table. They are all composed of minuets, recitatives, light airs, and allegros; at the end of which, they substitute something which is called grave; but this is done very sparingly, lest it should seem tiresome and disgusting. What can this mean? Should not all the music in a church be grave? Ought not the whole composition to be calculated to impress gravity, devotion, and decency? The instrumental music is the same; but what effect can these Canary-birds airs, so predominant in the taste of the moderns, produce in the soul? This music, so replete with jigs, that you can scarce find a piece without one, can raise no other emotions in the imagination, than those of frolic and levity. He who hears on the organ, the same minuet which he heard at the ball, what effect will it have on him? No other, than reminding him of the lady with whom he danced the preceding night. Thus the music, which ought to translate the spirit of him who listens to it, from the terrestrial to the celestial temple, conveys it from the church to the banquet; and the ideas raised in the imagination of the person who hears this, if either from constitution, or vicious habits, he is ill disposed, will not forsake him at the church door.

VI. O

VI. O good God! is this the ſort of muſic, which expreſſed from the breaſt of the great Auſtin, while he was ſtill wavering between God and the world, ſighs of compunction, and tears of piety? *Oh how I wept*, ſaid the ſaint, addreſſing himſelf to God in his confeſſions, *moved and excited, by the ſalutary hymns and canticles of thy church! Thoſe words and ſounds, made a lively impreſſion on my ears, and through them, thy truths penetrated my mind. My heart burned with affection, and my eyes melted in tears.* This was the effect of the church muſic of thoſe times; which, like the lyre of David, expelled the evil ſpirit, that had not quite forſaken the poſſeſſion of St. Auſtin, and invoked the good one; the muſic of theſe times expels the good one, if ſuch reſides, and invites the evil one. The eccleſiaſtical chant of thoſe days, was like the ſound of the trumpets of Joſhua, which threw down the walls of Jericho, that is, the paſſions which fortify the ſtrong town of Vice. The chant of the preſent times, reſembles the ſongs of the Syrens, which lead navigators on rocks and ſhoals.

SECT. III.

VII. How much better was the church with the plain chant, the only one known in it for many ages, and which, for the moſt part, was compoſed

poſed by the monks of St. Benedict, who were the greateſt maſters in the world at that time, among whom, ſhould be firſt reckoned Gregory the Great, and the celebrated Guido Aretinus; after them came John Murs, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who invented the notes, which mark the various duration of the points; and truly, the ſimplicity of that chant, was not deficient in melodies, capable of moving the paſſions, and ſweetly ſuſpending the hearers. The compoſitions of Guido Aretinus were reckoned ſo pathetic, that cardinal Baronius tells us, that, in the year 1022, pope Gregory VIII. ſent for him from his convent of Arezzo, and would not let him depart his preſence, till he had taught him to ſing a ſhort verſe of his Antiphonario. This was the perſon who invented the modern ſyſtem of muſic, or artificial progreſſion, which is now uſed, and called the ſcale of Guido Aretinus. He alſo contrived the harmonious combination of voices, in different tones; which art, was in all probability known to the antients, but all traces of it were then loſt.

VIII. The plain chant, executed with proper pauſes, has a peculiar excellence for the uſe of churches, which is, that being incapable of exciting ſuch affections as are raiſed by theatrical muſic, it neceſſarily follows, that it muſt be the beſt adapted to induce ſuch as are proper for the church.

church. Who, by the ſonorous majeſty of the hymn *Vexilla Regis*, by the feſtive gravity of the *Pange Lingua*, by the mournful tenderneſs of the *Invitatorio de Difuntos*, would not feel himſelf excited to veneration, devotion, and contrition? We hear theſe chants every day, notwithſtanding which, they always ſeem pleaſing; when at the ſame time, after half a dozen repetitions, modern compoſitions grow tireſome and unſavoury to us.

IX. I would not however, on this account, quarrel with the figured, or, as it is commonly called, the organ chant; as I am ſenſible, it has great advantages over the plain; becauſe it preſerves and marks the accents on the words, which in the plain chant is impoſſible; and becauſe the different duration of the points, produce to the ear that agreeable effect, which is cauſed to the ſight, by a well-proportioned inequality of colours. It is only the abuſe that has been introduced in the organ chant, which makes me prefer the plain one; and am in this reſpect, like a man who anxiouſly covets plain food, and avoids the more delicate, when he knows it is corrupted.

SECT. IV.

X. What good-diſpoſed ears can, in ſacred chants, endure thoſe enormous breaks, and laſcivious

vious inflections, which offend againſt the rules of decency, and are contrary to thoſe of muſic? I ſpeak of thoſe flights and wanderings, which ſeem as if they had been ſtudied, and which the voice takes by ſtraying from the ſubject of the melody; of thoſe languiſhing falls from one point to another, that run not only through the ſemitone, but alſo through all the intermediate comas, and are tranſitions, which are not contained in art, nor does Nature allow them.

XI. Experience ſhews, that the changes which the voice makes in the chant, by running through ſmall intervals (ſuch paſſages containing in themſelves a degree of effeminate ſoftneſs, if not a laſcivious tendency), are apt to produce in the minds of hearers, an effect, correſpondent to ſuch ſort of ideas, and impreſs on the fancy certain confuſed images, which repreſent nothing good. On this account, many of the antients, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, reprobated as pernicious to youth, the ſort of muſic called Chromatic, which by the introduction of B-flatts, and ſoſtenutos, divides the octave into ſmaller intervals than the natural ones. Hear what Cicero ſays of this: *Chromaticum creditur repudiatum pridem fuiſſe genus, quod adoleſcentum remoleſcerent eo genere animi; Lacedæmones improbaſſe ferentur. (Lib. 1. Tuſcul. Quæſt.)* It may be ſuppoſed, they would have found

found more reaſon for prohibiting the Enharmonic alſo; which, by the addition of more flats and ſoſtenutos, and by being joined to the two other ſorts, the Diatonic and Chromatic, which muſt neceſſarily precede it, and by making the interval leſs ſtill, divides the octave into a greater number of points: in conſequence of which combination (the voice, by ſometimes deviating from the natural point, through ſpaces which are yet ſhorter, that is to ſay, the minor ſemitones) there reſults a muſic, more ſoft and effeminate than the Chromatic.

XII. Is it not much to be lamented, that the Chriſtians don't uſe the ſame precaution the antients did, to prevent muſic from perverting the manners of youth? But we are ſo far from doing this, that already no muſic is allowed to be good, in which there is not introduced at every turn, both in the human voice, and in the inſtruments, points, which they call foreign, and which paſs through all parts of the diapaſon, from the natural point to the accidental one; and this is the mode. There is no doubt but theſe tranſitions, managed with moderation, art and genius, produce an admirable effect; becauſe they mark the expreſſion of the words with more vivacity and ſpirit, than the pure diatonic progreſſions; and there reſults from ſo contriving things, a more delicate and expreſſive muſic. But the compoſers who are capable

of doing this, are very few, and thoſe few are the occaſion of an infinite number of others loſing and expoſing themſelves; who, by endeavouring to imitate them, for want of talents and addreſs to manage the buſineſs, fail in the attempt, and form with their foreign introductions, a ridiculous muſic, which ſometimes is inſipid, and at others harſh; and when they miſtake the leaſt, there reſults from their labours, an unmeaning ſoftneſs, and laſcivious delicacy, which has no good effect on the mind, becauſe there is no expreſſion in it, capable of exciting any noble emotion. If, notwithſtanding all that is objected to it, compoſers are deſirous ſuch muſic ſhould go down, becauſe it is the faſhion, let them apply it to the uſe of the theatres and concert rooms; but don't let them introduce it into the churches, as faſhions were never contrived or calculated for them; and if the divine offices do not admit of change of modes, either in veſtments or rites, why ſhould they be admitted in muſical compoſitions?

XIII. The caſe is, that this change of modes, contains at the bottom a certain venom, which Cicero gives an admirable deſcription of; for he remarks, that in Greece, with the ſame pace manners declined towards corruption, muſic declined from its antient majeſty, towards an affected ſoftneſs; either becauſe an effeminate muſic corrupted

ed the ietegrity of mens minds, or becauſe a vitiated and depraved muſic debauches their taſte, and inclines them to reliſh thoſe baſtard melodies, which, as ſymbols of, are beſt ſuited to their perverted manners: *Civitatumque hoc multarum in Græcia interfuit, antiquum vocum ſervare modum: quarum mores lapſi, ad mollitiem pariter ſunt immutati in cantibus; aut hac dulcedine, corruptelaque depraviti, ut quidam putant: aut cum ſeveritas morum ob olia vitia cecidiſſet, tum fuit in auribus, animiſque mutatis etiam huic mutationi locus.* (Lib. 2. de Legibus.) So that the taſte for this effeminate muſic, is the effect or cauſe of ſome relaxation in the mind. I would not however be underſtood to ſay, that all thoſe who have a taſte for ſuch muſic, are tainted with this defect. Many of ſtrict and incorruptible virtue, whom no vitiated muſic can warp, ſeem to approve it; but they in general do this, becauſe they hear it is the faſhion: and even many, though in reality they do not reliſh it, are led to ſay they do, only becauſe they would not be looked upon as people wedded to, and prejudiced in favour of antiquated cuſtoms, and as perſons, who are not poſſeſſed of faculties, capable of reliſhing the fine taſte of the moderns.

SECT. V.

XIV. I am ready however to confeſs, that there have lately been publiſhed ſome excellent compoſitions, both with reſpect to the pleaſing elegance of their taſte, and the ſubtilty of the art diſplayed in them; but by way of contraſt to theſe, which are very rare, an innumerable quantity of others have been produced, that to the ears are infufferable. This ariſes, partly from people undertaking to compoſe, who are not capable of doing it; and partly from ordinary compoſers pretending to take licences, which ſhould only be attempted by great maſters.

XV. It fares with muſic at this time, as it fares with ſurgery. In the ſame manner, that every blood letter of middling ability, takes upon him the name and occupation of a ſurgeon, every organiſt and violin player, of reaſonable dexterity, ſets himſelf up for a compoſer. This they can do, with little difficulty or labour, for they have only to get by heart, the general rules of conſonance and diſſonance; and then, from the numberleſs manuſcripts, or printed violin ſonatas with which the world abounds, take the firſt light air which occurs, or ſeems pleaſing to them, and apply the tone of that air to the words; and as the voice

proceeds, they, by thoſe general rules, go on covering it with a dry accompanyment, which contains neither imitation nor excellence; and between the pauſes of the voice, they may introduce a burſt of violins for ten or a dozen bars, more or leſs, provided that is the ſtile of the ſonata from whence they made the theft. If they would content themſelves with doing no more than this, we might be brought to endure their productions: but the worſt of the evil is, that from an affectation of being thought ſuperior to trivial compoſition, they introduce falſe concords, without preparing, or being able to reſolve them, and by that means, make terrible blemiſhes, and commit faults, that are inexcuſable; and becauſe alſo, they ſee ſome illuſtrious compoſers, diſpenſe with the common rules, and take liberties, ſuch as writing two-fifths, or two octaves immediately following each other, which they do only for the ſake of introducing a good paſſage, or to attain ſome excellence of harmony, and which, without taking ſuch a liberty, they could not have effected: and although theſe never take ſuch a latitude, but under particular circumſtances, and ſubject to certain limitations; the others have the audacity to attempt it, out of time, and when it can anſwer no purpoſe whatever; by which means, they are thrown to the ground with ſuch violence, that the ſtroke of their fall is ſhocking to the ear.

XVI. Middling compoſers, although, by endeavouring to tread in the ſteps of the excellent ones, they do not fall into ſuch groſs errors, generally form a muſic, which at ſome times is lifeleſs, and at others turgid. This is occaſioned by their introducing accidentals, and changing the keys in the ſame piece; which method, if practiſed by great maſters, who uſed it ſeaſonably and opportunely, not only gives a greater ſweetneſs to the muſic, but communicates to the words, a more ſtriking impreſſion, than they of themſelves, without this aſſiſtance, could convey or produce. Some ſtrangers had a happy talent at doing this; but no one underſtood it better, than our Don Antonio de Literes, a compoſer of the firſt rate, and who is perhaps the only one, who knows how to unite all the majeſty and ſweetneſs of the antient muſic, with the buſtle and hurry of the modern; but in the management of the accidental points, he has a ſingular addreſs, for almoſt every time he introduces them, they give an energy to the muſic, which is correſpondent to, and ſtrengthens the ſignification of the words they fall on. To do this, requires both genius and ſcience, but much more genius than ſcience. From this deficiency in point of genius, we find maſters in Spain, of great knowledge and comprehenſion, who were not ſo happy as to ſucceed in this way; ſo that, although in their compoſitions we admire the ſubtilty of their art,

art, their works do not obtain the approbation of our ears.

XVII. Thoſe who are unaſſiſted by genius, and who, on the other hand, do not poſſeſs more than a moderate knowledge of muſic, make falſe concordances, introduce accidentals, and change the keys, becauſe doing ſo is the faſhion; and becauſe they are fond of having it thought, they know how to manufacture theſe ſort of airs; although, in reality, they ſeldom produce any air at all; and notwithſtanding their compoſitions are conformable to the common rules, ſtill they are unſavoury, and diſagreeable; and when they are performed in the church, inſtead of producing that ſweet calm, and inward compoſure which are requiſite to devotion, they excite perturbations in the hearts of the hearers.

XVIII. Between the firſt and ſecond of theſe, there comes in another ſort of compoſers, who, though in point of abilities, are above mediocrity, they for ſacred compoſitions are the worſt of all. Theſe are they, who ſport with, and run the changes, upon all the delicacies muſic is capable of; but diſpoſe them in ſuch a manner, that the melody produced, has the ſound of pantomine airs. All the irregularities they practiſe, either in falſe concordances, or accidentals, are intro-

duced as graces, but graces very different from thoſe recommended by St. Paul in his Epiſtle to the Coloſſians : *Ingratia cantantes in cordibus veſtris Deo :* inſtead of ſuch; they are graces of banter, and harmonies of indecency; and are a ſort of paſſages, the beſt of which, the muſicians themſelves call childiſh and apiſh. Are ſuch proper for the church ? Let them, in God's name, be ſent to the courts of the comedies, and the halls of the dance. But is it not an impious abuſe, to introduce into the houſe of God, things which are trifling, apiſh and indecent ? And is not the blending them with divine worſhip, an abominable error ?

XIX. Is not this attempting to baniſh from muſic, all enlivening chearfulneſs, except that which ſavours of the puerile and buffoon ? Muſic may be exceedingly chearful, and at the ſame time, impregnated with a majeſtic gravity, capable of exciting in the hearers, affections of reſpect and devotion : or, to ſpeak more properly, the moſt chearful and delectable muſic of all, is that which induces a ſweet tranquillity in the ſoul; collecting it within itſelf, and let us ſay, elevating it with a kind of extatic rapture, ſuperior to the body it is attached to ; that the mind may take a flight, towards the manſions of bliſs, and contemplate divine things in a nearer point of view. This is

the

the ſort of chearful muſic, which St. Auſtin approved as uſeful in churches, and which he treated St. Athanaſius with exceſſive ſeverity for having objected to; becauſe its proper effect, is elevating thoſe hearts to noble affections, which are oppreſſed and weighed down with earthly inclinations: *Ut per hæc oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis aſſurgat.* (Lib. 10. Confeſſ. cap. 32.)

XX. It is true, that the maſters capable of forming this noble kind of melody, are very few; but thoſe who can't attain this degree of perfection, ſhould content themſelves with doing ſomething leſs; taking care however, that their compoſitions ſhould tend to excite ſuch diſpoſitions, as are ſuitable to divine offices; or at leaſt being careful, that they ſhould not conduce to promote inclinations of an oppoſite nature; and at all events, although it ſhould be at the hazard of diſobliging the multitude, to ſhun thoſe ſkittiſh ſort of airs, which have a certain occult relation to forbidden affections; but of the two evils into which church muſic is in danger of falling, that of its being offenſive to the ears, is a leſs miſchief, than that of its being an incentive to vice.

XXI. The power of muſic to ſtir the paſſions, and raiſe in the minds of men, diſpoſitions to virtue or

or vice, is very well known. It is related of Pythagoras, that, having by muſic adapted to produce ſuch an effect, inflamed the heart of a certain youth to a diſhonourable amour, he afterwards, by changing the tone, reduced him to the dominion of continence. It is alſo related of Timotheus, a muſician of Alexander the Great, that he could irritate the martial fury of that prince to ſuch a degree, that he would ſeize on his arms, and put himſelf in an attitude, as if his enemies were in front, and he on the point of charging them. This effect, however, was the leſs ſurpriſing, becauſe the natural diſpoſition of the prince, conſpired to aſſiſt the ſkill of the artiſt. Some add, that after having enraged, he calmed him; and cauſed Alexander, who never turned his back on any danger, to become a fugitive from his own rage. But what is told of the power of another muſician, which was exerciſed on Henry II. King of Denmark, called the Good, is more extraordinary than all this; for it is ſaid, that by a movement and touch, calculated to excite choler, he inflamed the rage of that prince to ſuch a degree, that he fell upon, and put to death, three or four of his domeſtics, and would have carried the havoc and devaſtation ſtill further, if he had not been reſtrained by violence. This was the more wonderful, becauſe the king's natural diſpoſition, was gentle and peaceable.

XXII.

XXII. I don't imagine the muſicians of theſe times can perform ſuch miracles, neither perhaps did the antient ones; for theſe hiſtories are not extracted from Holy Writ. It is however certain, that muſic, according as the melody is varied, induces in the mind a variety of diſpoſitions, ſome good, others bad. With one we find ourſelves moved to ſorrow, with another to mirth; with one to clemency, with another to blood; with one to fortitude, with another to puſillanimity; and ſo on with reſpect to other inclinations.

XXIII. There is no doubt of the juſtneſs of this remark; neither is there any, that a maſter, who compoſes for the church, ſhould diſpoſe the muſic in ſuch a way, and write it in ſuch a ſtile, as is beſt calculated to promote the ſpiritual welfare of ſouls; and to ſuſtain the majeſty, decorum, and ſolemnity of divine worſhip. St. Thomas, touching upon this point, ſays, the chant was a ſalutary inſtitution in the church, becauſe it excited ſickly ſouls, that is, ſuch as were weak in ſpirit, to devotion. But, alas! what would the ſaint ſay, if he was to hear in the church ſome of the airs of theſe times, which, ſo far from fortifying the ſick, enfeeble the healthy; which, inſtead of promoting devotion in the breaſt, baniſh it from the ſoul; and inſtead of elevating the mind to pious reflections, bring to the memory forbid-

den things? I repeat it again, that it is an obligation on muſicians, and a very ſerious one, to correct this abuſe.

XXIV. Truly, when I reflect on the ſerious turn of mind for which Spaniards heretofore were remarkable, I can't help being ſtruck with amazement, to find at preſent, that we can reliſh no other but puppet-ſhew muſic. This looks as if the celebrated Spaniſh gravity, was reduced to nothing more, than ſtalking ſtiff and erect up and down the ſtreet. The Italians, by means of the falſe flattering inſinuation, that muſic has been improved of late days, have made us the ſlaves of their taſte. I, for my own part, believe what they call improvement, to be ruin and deſtruction, or ſomething very near it. All intellectual arts, of whoſe excellencies, the underſtanding and the taſte, cloathed with an equal degree of authority are judges, have their points, or zenith of perfection, which when they are once arrived at, he who attempts to advance them, commonly occaſions their decline, aud puts them in a train, which leads to their deſtruction.

XXV. It will perhaps, with reſpect to the ſcience of muſic, happen to Italy very ſoon, if it has not happened there already, juſt as it happened to it with regard to the Latin language, oratory,

oratory, and poetry. Theſe faculties, in the age of Auguſtus, arrived to that ſtate of propriety, beauty, elegance, and natural energy, in which their true perfection conſiſted. Thoſe who ſucceeded to that age, pretended, by the violent introduction of improper ornaments, to refine them; by doing which, they precipitated them from Nature to affectation, and from thence they afterwards fell into barbariſm. The poets who ſucceeded Virgil, and the orators who ſucceeded Cicero, were thoroughly perſuaded in themſelves, that they had given new graces, and new excellencies to the two arts; but the keen Petronius Arbiter, after upbraiding them with their ridiculous and pompous affectation, told them very plainly, what in reality they had done: *Vos primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis.*

SECT. VII.

XXVI. To ſee whether the muſic of theſe times ſuffers the ſame ſhipwreck, which the before-named ſciences underwent; let us examine, in what the muſic, which is now practiſed, differs from that of the antecedent age. The firſt and moſt remarkable diſtinction which occurs, is the diminution of the figures. The ſhorteſt points which were formerly known, were demi-ſemi quavers; and with them, it was imagined, they had given

given to the execution of the chant, and the inſtruments, as great a degree of velocity, as without doing violence to both, they were capable of attaining. This did not ſeem ſufficient, and a little while afterwards, they invented dividing the demi-ſemi quavers into thirds, by which means, the movement became one part in three quicker than it was before. The extravagance of compoſers did not ſtop here, for they doubled the demi-ſemi quavers, and made a movement, that, for its rapidity, ſeems to have gone beyond the reach of imagination, which can ſcarce conceive, how it is poſſible, in the compaſs of a bar, to articulate or expreſs ſixty-four points. I don't know whether before this age, any double demi-ſemi quavers ever appeared figured in any compoſition; except it was in the ſong of the Riſuenor, which father Kircher, in the middle of the laſt century, cauſed to be printed, in the firſt book of his *Muſurgia Univerſalis*; and I am even inclined to think, that ſolfa favours of the hyperbolic; for it is not eaſy to perſuade me, that that bird, with all his agility and flexibility of throat, could articulate ſixty-four points, in the ſpace of raiſing and falling the hand, within the compaſs of regular time.

XXVII. I now ſay, this diminution of figures, inſtead of perfectioning muſic, entirely ſpoils and ruins

ruins it; for two reaſons: the firſt is, that it will be very difficult to find a perſon, who either with the voice, or an inſtrument, is capable of executing points of ſuch velocity. The before-cited father Kircher, ſays, that having made ſome compoſitions which were out of the common track, and of difficult execution, (though I believe they were not ſo difficult as thoſe which are now the faſhion) he could not find in all Rome, a ſinger capable of performing them. How then can you expect to find in every province, and in every cathedral, inſtrumental performers and ſingers, who, in exact time, and with the due intonation, are capable of executing theſe exceeding minute figures; and to this difficulty, we may likewiſe add, that of the many extravagant flights and jumps, which at preſent are the faſhion alſo. To articulate ſuch a ſolfa, requires a throat of prodigious volubility; and to expreſs ſuch muſic on an inſtrument, demands admirable agility, and dexterity of hand; and, therefore, ſuch compoſitions are only fit for one or two very ſingular executioniſts, which may be found in this or that particular court; but they ſhould not be printed for the uſe of the world at large; for the ſame ſinger, who, with a natural and eaſy ſolfa, would give pleaſure to the hearers, would, by attempting theſe difficult paſſages, diſtract them; and from the ſame hand, by which a ſonata, of eaſy execution, would ſound delight-

delightſome and ſweet, one of arduous difficulty would ſound like the talking of gibberiſh.

XXIV. The ſecond reaſon why this diminution of figures deſtroys muſic, is becauſe it does not give ſpace for the ear to perceive melody. As the delight the eye receives by a well-diſpoſed variety of colours, could not be attained, if each was to paſs the ſight with ſo quick a motion, that it could ſcarce make a diſtinct impreſſion on the organ, and it is the ſame with all ſorts of viſible objects; juſt ſo, if the points into which muſic is divided are of ſo ſhort a duration, as to be incapable of acting diſtinctly on the ear, this organ, would not perceive harmony but confuſion. Further, this ſecond inconvenience, like the reſt, is increaſed by the abuſe, which, in their practice is committed by inſtrumental performers; who, although they are but ſlow or indifferent hands, generally make oſtentation of playing with great velocity; and commonly ſtrive to execute the ſonata, with more rapidity than the compoſer intended, or than the character of the muſic requires. From whence it follows, that by a defect in the moſt eſſential part of the execution, which is preciſion and exactneſs, the muſic loſes its true and proper genius; and the byſtanders hear nothing but a confuſed clatter. Let every one then purſue the mode, which is ſuitable to his talents and abilities;

ties; for if he, who is heavy and ſlow of foot, endeavours to run as faſt as him who is light and nimble, his whole career will be nothing but ſtumbles: and if he, who can only run, attempts to fly, he will ſoon fall, and daſh himſelf to pieces.

XXIX. The ſecond diſtinction between antient and modern muſic, conſiſts in the frequency and exceſs of tranſitions in this laſt, from the diatonic to the chromatic and enharmonic ſtile; and in often changing the tones, by the introduction of ſoſtenutos and B flats. This, as I obſerved before, has a good effect, if it is done with moderation and opportunely. But the Italians of this day, run to ſuch an extravagant exceſs with theſe tranſitions, that they force harmony off its hinges. Whoever has any difficulty of believing this, let him, free from prejudice or partiality, conſult his own ears, whenever he hears any of thoſe ſonatas or chants performed which abound much in accidentals.

XXX. The third diſtinction conſiſts in the liberty which compoſers at preſent take, of mixing in their muſic, all ſorts of modulations that occur to them; without confining themſelves, either to imitation or theme. The pleaſure perceived by this muſic, which I will take the liberty of calling looſe and diſhevelled, is vaſtly inferior to the en-

joyment afforded by that beautiful regularity and contrivance, with which the maſters of the laſt age, introduced a pleaſing variety into a paſſage; and eſpecially, when the muſic was calculated for four voices. Strangers are ſenſible of the high value of ſuch compoſitions; nor are excellent ones of this ſpecies wanting in other countries; but compoſers in general, avoid writing in this ſtile, becauſe the doing it well, demands more labour and ſtudy, than they are commonly diſpoſed to take; ſo that if now and then they introduce, and begin purſuing a paſſage, they quickly leave it, and give a looſe to their fancy, letting it run where it liſts. Strangers, who come to Spain, are for the moſt part mere executioniſts, and therefore not capable of forming this kind of muſic; becauſe it requires more ſcientific knowledge, than they are generally maſters of; and therefore, to conceal that they are deficient in point of ability, they endeavour to perſuade people, the method of purſuing paſſages is out of faſhion.

SECT. VIII.

XXXI. This is the ſpecies of muſic, with which the Italians, by the hand of their beloved maſter Duron, have regaled us; for he was the man, who firſt introduced foreign modes into the muſic of Spain. It is true, that ſince his time, theſe modes have

have been so refined, that if Duron could now rise from his grave, he would not know them; but still, the blame of all these novelties is imputable to him, for he was the first who opened the door for their introduction. Virgil's description of the winds, may be applied to the airs of the Italian music.

Qua data porta ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.

With regard to the science of music, we see verified in the Spaniards, with respect to the Italians, that easy condescension in admitting novelties, which Pliny lamented in the Italians themselves, with respect to the Greeks: *Mutatur quotidie ars interpolis, & ingeniorum Græciæ flatu impellimur.*

XXXII. With all this, we are not without able composers in Spain, who have not totally fallen in with the fashion, or who jointly, with conforming to it, and judiciously combining the antient and modern together, have wrote some valuable and delectable pieces of grammatical music; in which, the sweetness and majesty of the old compositions has been preserved. Speaking of this, brings afresh to my memory, the savoury and luxuriant Literes; and I can't help mentioning him a second time, for he is a composer truly original. A character of elevated sweetness, which

is proper and natural to him, is reſplendent in all his works, and which never forſakes him, even when he ſets words to muſic, on amorous or profane ſubjects: ſo that even in ſongs of love, or comic gallantry, he preſerves a kind of ſublimity, which can only touch, or be felt by the ſuperior part of the ſoul; this he manages with ſuch addreſs, that he awakes tenderneſs, and at the ſame time lulls luſt to ſleep. I would have this compoſer always employed in writing for ſacred ſubjects: becauſe the genius of his compoſitions, is better calculated to inſpire celeſtial affections, than to foment earthly amours. If ſome of his muſic, is leſs impregnated with that tumultuous air and clatter, for which the works of many other authors are admired: it, for that very reaſon, is, in my opinion, better calculated for the uſe of churches; becauſe muſic in them, demands a ſerious gravity, which ſhould ſweetly calm the mind; and not a puerile flightineſs, which would excite to dance with caſtanets. Compoſitions of the laſt kind are very eaſy, and are therefore made by many; thoſe of the firſt ſort are difficult, and therefore but few attempt them.

SECT. IX.

XXXIII. What we have hitherto ſaid of the irregularity and diſorders of church muſic, does not

not extend to chants in the vulgar tongue only, but to pſalms, maſſes, lamentations, and other parts of divine ſervice, becauſe the modes in faſhion, have been introduced into them all. I have, in printed lamentations, ſeen the changes of the airs characteriſed in the ſame terms, which are uſed to deſcribe them in comic muſic. Here you read *grave*, there *ayroſo*, and in another place *andante*. What, can't we admit of all the muſic being grave, even in a lamentation? And is it neceſſary to introduce light comedy airs into the repreſentation of the moſt afflicting myſteries? If grief could find a place in heaven, Jeremiah would lament afreſh, at ſeeing ſuch muſic applied to his ſongs of mourning. Is it impoſſible, that in thoſe complainings, where every letter is a ſigh, correſponding with, and expreſſive of the various ſenſations, ariſing from the ſubjects of his lamentation; either the ruin of Jeruſalem by the Chaldeans, the deſtruction of the world for ſin, the affliction of the church militant for the perſecution of its martyrs; and, to ſum up the whole, the anguiſh and ſufferings of our Redeemer, for the ſalvation of mankind. I ſay, can the feelings produced by ſuch ſad and diſtreſſing calamities, be expreſſed with airy tunes and recitatives? In the mournful ſongs of Jeremiah, which ſome expoſitors call the Alphabet of the Penitents, ſhould we hear the ſound of feſtive airs and ſerenades?

With how much more reaſon than him, ought we to exclaim here in the language of Seneca, when he cenſured Ovid, for having introduced into the deſcription of ſo tragical an event as that of Deucalion's flood, a verſe which ſavoured of gallantry: *Non eſt res ſatis ſobria laſcivire devorato orbe terrarum.* The Cythara of Nero, while Rome was burning, had not ſo harſh a ſound, as the harmony of dances in the repreſentation of ſuch affecting myſteries.

XXXIV. And beſides offending in this particular againſt the rules of reaſon, they ſin alſo againſt the laws of muſic, which preſcribe, that the tone of the chant, ſhould be ſuited to the meaning of the words; and therefore, when the language is ſolemn and expreſſive of ſorrow, the tone of the muſic ſhould be grave and affecting.

XXXV. It is true, that againſt this rule, which is one of the moſt cardinal, muſicians very frequently ſin in all ſorts of compoſitions, ſome from being deficient, and others by exceeding. Thoſe fall into the error of deficiency, who form muſic without any attention to the ſpirit or meaning of the words to which they apply it; but hardly any fall into thoſe groſs miſtakes, except ſuch as ſcarce deſerve the name of compoſers, and who are capable of doing nothing more, than tacking

racking or weaving together, ſhreds and ſtrips, of the compoſitions of other muſicians.

XXXVI. Thoſe err by exceeding or doing too much, who regulate their muſic with a puerile nicety, to correſpond with the diſtinct or ſeparate ſignification of each word, taken or ſtanding by itſelf, without having regard to the meaning of the whole context. An example produced by father Kircher to illuſtrate this abuſe, will explain what I mean. He inſtanced the manner, in which a compoſer had ſet to muſic the following verſe: *Mors feſtinat luctuoſa*; to the words *mors* and *luctuoſa*, he applied a mournful ſolfa; but to the word *feſtinat*, which ſtood in the middle between them, as it ſeemed to him, to ſignify vivacity or quickneſs, he appropriated a career of allegros, that would have cauſed the moſt ſluggiſh nag who heard them, to bound about and give cabriols.

XXXVII. I ſaw ſomething as bad, or indeed even worſe than this, in one of the lamentations I cited before; where to the muſic adapted to expreſs the followihg ſentence: *Depoſita eſt vehementer non habens conſolatorem*, was marked ayroſo. How ill-ſuited is an airy movement, to expreſs the lamentable fall of Jeruſalem, and alſo that of all mankind bowed down and crippled with the weight of their ſins; which misfortune, was ag-

gravated with the additional and diſtreſſing circumſtance, of their being deſtitute of comfort under the calamity? But the blame of all this, was imputable to the adverb *vehementer*, becauſe to expreſs vehemence, appeared to the compoſer to require a lively movement; and thus, when he came to that word in the ſentence, he quickened his pace, and upon the adverb *vehementer*, expended in rapid notes, muſic to the amount of forty crotchets; but the word, in the ſenſe it was there uſed, was intended to ſignify the ſame as *graviſſime*, and to expreſs with energy, the degree of grief and ſadneſs, occaſioned by the fall of Jeruſalem, which, crippled and bore down with the cruſhing weight of its ſins, came to the ground, temple, walls, and houſes, all together.

XXXVIII. Nobody was more guilty of this fault, than the celebrated Duron, and he committed it to ſuch a degree, that ſometimes in the ſame couplet, juſt as the ſignification of the words of the verſe varied, taken ſeparately or by themſelves, he would vary the affections of the chant, ſix or eight times; and although it required great addreſs and ability to do this, which he in reality was poſſeſſed of; ſuch an exertion of his talents was ill applied.

SECT.

SECT. X.

XXXIX. Some (for we would not omit to mention this) judge, that the compoſing muſic adapted to different ſubjects, conſiſts much, in a right choice of the keys; and they aſſign one for grave ſubjects, another for chearful ones, and another for mournful ones, and ſo on; but I believe, this contributes little or nothing to the buſineſs; for there is no key whatever, in which there have not been written, very expreſſive and pathetic compoſitions, ſuited to excite all kinds of affections. The different place which the two ſemitones occupy in the diapaſon, and which is what the diſtinction of keys conſiſts in, is inſufficient to induce this diverſity; becauſe in whatever place an accidental is introduced, and they introduce them at every turn, this order is changed; and becauſe various, or the moſt parts of the compoſition, by varying their terminations, fall upon, or catch the ſemi-tones, in a different poſition, from that in which they ſtand or are placed, with reſpect to the diapaſon. For example; although the firſt key-tone, which begins D ſolre, proceeds in this order, firſt a tone, then a ſemi-tone, after that three tones, to which there follows another ſemitone, and at laſt there comes a whole tone. The different traces, or minute paſſages of the compo-

ſition, taken each by itſelf, do not follow this order; becauſe one begins in the firſt, another in the tone which is next after it, and ſo on with reſpect to all the other parts of the diapaſon, and they terminate wherever the compoſer likes beſt; by which means, in every trace or minute paſſage of the compoſition, the poſition of the ſemitones is varied, as much, as in the different diapaſons, which conſtitute the diverſity of the keys.

XL. What confirms me in this ſentiment, that the ſuiting muſic to produce a grave or a ſprightly effect, does not depend upon the choice of the key it is wrote in, is, that the greateſt muſicians, are much divided in their opinions upon this point. What one conſiders as a lively key, another thinks a mournful one; what one eſteems a devout key, another calls a flighty one. The two great jeſuits, father Kircher, and father Dechales, are ſo oppoſite in their ſentiments upon this head, that the ſame key, which father Kircher characterizes in this manner, *Harmonioſus, magnificus, & regia majeſtate plenus*, father Dechales ſpeaks thus of: *Ac tripudia, & choreas eſt comparatus, diciturque propterea laſcivus*; and they differ little leſs, in their aſſignation of the characters of many other keys, if not of all.

XLI. The

XLI. The foregoing, ſhould be underſtood to relate and apply to the eſſential difference of keys, which conſiſts, in the diverſity of poſition of the ſemi-tones in the diapaſon; but not to their accidental difference; which conſiſts, in their being taken higher or lower. This may conduce ſomething to create effect; becauſe the ſame muſic, ſet in low notes, which is religious and grave, tranſpoſed to high ones, loſes of its majeſty, and acquires a degree of vivacity, that is ill ſuited to a ſolemn ſubject: and for this reaſon, I am of opinion, that the movements of church muſic ſhould not be very quick: becauſe, by hurrying the voices in the chant, they occaſion them to ſound harſh; and beſides this, prevent that eaſy play and flexibility of throat, which is neceſſary to produce the effect the muſic requires; and which many times conſiſts, or is contained in the intonations; I ſay further, that over and above theſe inconveniences, muſic compoſed of quick movements, and ſet in high notes, is not ſo well calculated to move the affections of reſpect, devotion, and piety, as that which is written in lower tones, and marked to be performed in ſlower time.

SECT. XI.

XLII. For the ſame reaſon, I am againſt the introduction of violins into churches. St. Thomas, in

in the place I before cited, objects to the admitting any kind of inſtruments in the church; and the reaſon he gives for the objection is, that the ſenſible delight which the inſtrumental muſic occaſions, hinders devotion. But it is not eaſy to reconcile this reaſoning, with what the ſaint ſays in another place, to wit, that the delight perceived by the air, excites weak ſpirits to devotion; and he, in the ſame place, approves of the uſe of muſical inſtruments in ſynagogues, becauſe the Jews being a hard and carnal people, there is a neceſſity for having recourſe to ſuch means, to provoke and ſtir them to piety. At leaſt then for people of this ſtamp, muſical inſtruments in churches would be very ſerviceable; and there being a great many of that diſpoſition who frequent churches; conſequently, the inſtruments would be found exceedingly uſeful. Beſides, I can't comprehend, how the ſenſible delight which inſtrumental muſic occaſions, ſhould induce to devotion thoſe who on account of their hardneſs are little diſpoſed to it, and obſtruct it in thoſe whoſe hearts are more inclined to divine worſhip.

XLIII. I acknowledge and confeſs, that it is much more eaſy for me to miſunderſtand St. Thomas, than for St. Thomas to advance any thing that is wrong: but after all, the univerſal practice of the whole church authorizes the uſe of inſtruments;

ſtruments; and the only difficulty or diſagreement, ſeems to reſt in the choice of them. I for my own part think, that violins are improper in that ſacred theatre; their ſhrill notes, although harmonious, are ſtill ſhrill, and excite a puerile vivacity in our ſpirits, very different from that decent attention, which is due to the majeſty of myſteries; and eſpecially in theſe times, when thoſe who compoſe for violins, ſtudiouſly write their muſic ſo high, that he who is to execute it, can ſcarce forbear ſtriking the bridge of the inſtrument with his fingers.

XLIV. There are many other inſtruments much fitter to be uſed in churches than violins, their tones being much more reſpectful and grave; ſuch as the harp, the violincello, and the harpſichord; neither would the inconvenience of the want of trebles in the inſtruments be felt, by leaving out the violins, but rather, the muſic by the omiſſion would appear more majeſtic, which is what is moſt required in churches. The organ is an admirable inſtrument; or, to ſpeak more properly, many inſtruments compriz-ed in one. It is true, that the organiſts, when they are ſo diſpoſed, can make a ſort of pipe and tabor of it; and it is alſo true, that this diſpoſition ſeems to come upon them pretty frequently.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

XLV. It would not be foreign, but rather very conſonant to the object of our preſent criticiſm, to ſay ſomething in this place of the poetry, to which they give the epithet of divine, and which is compoſed to be ſung in churches. I may without temerity, venture to pronounce, that poetry in Spain, is in a worſe ſtate of perdition than muſic. The number of thoſe who write couplets is infinite, but none of them are poets. If I was to be aſked, which are the moſt difficult of all arts, I ſhould anſwer, medicine, poetry, and oratory: and if I was alſo to be aſked, which are the moſt eaſy; I ſhould anſwer, oratory, poetry, and medicine. There is no ſtudent, who, if he takes a fancy to it, does not write verſes. All the religious who mount the pulpit, and all the doctors who have ſtudied and practiſed phyſic, find their partizans: but where will you meet with the truly able phyſician, the compleat poet, or the perfect orator?

XLVI. Our moſt learned monk *Don John de Mabillon*, in his Treatiſe on Monaſtic Studies, ſays, that an excellent poet is a very rare treaſure; and I agree with him in ſentiment; for upon ſtrict examination, where, among the numbers

bers of poetical eſſays that are publiſhed, will you meet with any one, which (omitting many other requiſite qualities) is natural, ſublime, ſweet and pointed; and at the ſame time, ingenious, and clear; brilliant without affectation, ſonorous without turgidity, and harmonious without impropriety; that runs without hobbling, is delicate without affectation, forcible without harſhneſs, beautiful without paint or ſtrained colouring, noble without preſumption, and copious and comprehenſive without obſcurity? I will almoſt venture to pronounce, that he who would find a poet capable of writing verſes in this ſtile, ſhould ſeek for him in the regions inhabited by the Phœnix.

XLVII. In Spain however, poetry is in ſo deplorable a ſtate, that according to all appearances, it would be needleſs to ſearch for ſuch a one there. He who errs the leaſt, with the exception of here and there a particular one, ſeems as if he ſtudied how he ſhould commit faults. All his care appears to be placed, in ſwelling the verſe with irrational hyperboles, and pompous words; by which means, he produces a bloated, and confirmed dropſical poem, the ſight of which turns your ſtomach, and the peruſal fills you with melancholy. Thoſe eſſential qualities, propriety and nature, without which, neither poetry or proſe can ever be good, ſeem to have abandoned,

and become fugitives from our compoſitions. Our authors don't in their productions, appear to have hit upon that native ſplendor, which gives a brilliancy to their ideas, but rather, to have disfigured their beſt thoughts, with affected and bombaſt expreſſions; ſo that their original conceptions, may be compared to a fine woman that falls into indiſcreet hands to be dreſſed and ornamented.

XLVIII. Thus much in general for modern Spaniſh poetry; but the worſt is, that you hear theſe ſort of compoſitions in the ſacred canticles; which are often ſo bad, that it would be better, inſtead of them, to ſing the couplets of blind men; becauſe theſe ſeem to have a tendency to promote devout affections, and their ruſtic-ſimplicity is in ſome degree the ſymptom of a good intention. All the gracefulneſs, or rather the attempt at diſplaying it, in the church canticles of theſe times, conſiſts in low equivocations, trivial metaphors, and puerile changes and rechanges. The worſt is, that they are entirely void of ſpirit, and not at all calculated to excite religious emotions, which are the principal, if not the only qualities required, and which ought to be ſought after in ſuch compoſitions. Don Antonio de Solis was without doubt a perſon of ſublime genius, and one who well underſtood the

the excellencies of poetry. He exceeded all others, and even ſometimes himſelf alſo, in painting the paſſions with ſuch apt, cloſe, and ſubtile expreſſions, that the deſcriptions of his pen ſeem to give you a clearer idea of, and make you better acquainted with them, than the knowledge which is gained by experience. But with all this, we in his ſmall ſacred tracts, perceive a ſtrange falling-off; becauſe in them, we don't meet with that nobleneſs of thought, that delicacy of expreſſion, and that ſtirring of the paſſions, which is frequent and common in his other Lyric Poems. This did not happen becauſe he wanted genius or talents to write ſacred compoſitions; for his dirges upon the converſion of St. Franciſco de Borja, are ſome of the beſt things he ever exhibited, and perhaps the moſt ſublime, which to this day have been compoſed in the Spaniſh language.

XLIX. I believe the badneſs of the compoſition of theſe couplets, called Letrillas, which are generally written for feſtivals, has proceeded from Solis, and other poets of ability, having looked upon them as trifles; though in reality, no other compoſitions require ſo much ſtudy or ſerious attention. What ſubjects can be more noble than thoſe, where the eulogium of the ſaints and martyrs is ſung, and the excellency of

the divine attributes and myſteries, is repreſented and celebrated? Theſe are the things, on which men of abilities, ſhould exert the whole power of their genius and talents. What employment can be more worthy a man of ſhining parts, than that of painting the beauty of virtue in ſuch amiable colours, as to make mankind in love with it; and repreſenting the deformity of vice, in ſo ſtriking a point of view, as to make the world abhor and deteſt it; and to contrive to praiſe God and his angels in ſuch a way, as would ſtimulate people to a deſire of imitation, and light up in their minds, the flame of adoration and worſhip? The grandeur of poetry, conſiſts in that active perſuaſion, which the poet inſtils into the ſoul, and with which he moves the heart, to follow the courſe he would wiſh it ſhould purſue. To write in this ſtile, ſays our Mabillon, ſpeaking of poetry, is not childrens play; much leſs then, ſhould ſacred poetry be only fit to amuſe infants; but after all, that which is ſung in our churches is nothing better.

L. Even thoſe, whoſe compoſitions are held in eſtimation, do no more, than provide and prepare the firſt light conceits that occur to them on the ſubject they are about to write upon; and although they have not in themſelves, union with reſpect to time, or tendency to any deſign whatever,

whatever, they distribute them in couplets, and notwithstanding one leads to Flanders, and another to Morocco, they introduce them into the context; and provided each couplet says something, for this is their explanation, although it is without life, spirit, or force; nay more, although it is without order, or direction to any determinate point or purpose, they say it is good composition; when, in truth, it no more deserves the name of a composition, than a heap of stones that of an edifice, or the throwing or huddling together a number of colours, that of a picture.

XL. Keen sentences, wit, airy pleasantry, and lively conceits, are the precise ornaments of poetry; but they should not be introduced into a poem, as if they had been studiously sought after; on the contrary, they should seem as if they were always in waiting, and ready either for the poet to lay his hand on them, or to obey his command; who should pursue the rout he has chalked out for himself, and as he proceeds on, gather such flowers as he meets on his way, and which grow naturally in the road through which he travels. This was the practice of Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and all the illustrious poets of antiquity. To make couplets, which are no more than an unformed mass of little conceits, is a thing very easy, and at the same time very use-

leſs; becauſe there is not in them, nor are they capable of containing, any of the ſublime excellences of poetry. Why do I ſay ſublime excellences? Not even the loweſt requiſites which are of its eſſence.

LII. But I have not even yet mentioned the worſt part belonging to the divine canticles; which is, that if not all, a great many of them are compoſed in a burleſque ſtile. This is certainly done with great diſcretion: becauſe by this practice, the things appertaining to God, are converted to things of interlude. What idea can a thouſand extravagances, put in the mouths of Gill and Paſquil, give of the ineffable myſtery of the incarnation? I ſhall leave it here, for the thoughts of ſuch an abſurdity put me out of all patience; and he to whom ſuch an indignant abuſe, does not of itſelf appear diſguſting, I ſhall never be able to perſuade or convince, by any arguments whatever.

The following, which is extracted from the learned Letters of FEYJOO, is an Anſwer of the Author's to a Letter from a Friend on the Subject of Muſic. The Title he gives to the Letter, is,

THE WONDERFUL EFFECTS OF MUSIC, AND A COMPARISON OF THE ANTIENT WITH THE MODERN.

DEAR SIR,

I. BEFORE I ceaſed to be a young man, or indeed before I became one, the difficulty you now propound occurred to me, and is, in my humble opinion, a very grave one. It ſeems beyond a doubt, that the muſic of theſe times, does

not produce the admirable effects which are related of the music of antiquity, and it seems also as if this argued a greater degree of perfection in the antient than the modern. On the other hand, it appears difficult to explain, in what this superior degree of perfection in the antient consisted; not so much for the reason you mention, as for another, which I shall point out in the sequel.

II. We at present know of no musician whatever, who, by the use of his art, can excite, or appease a violent passion; but if various authors do not deceive us, the music of antiquity, produced both the one and the other of these effects. It is related of the two musicians, Timotheus and Antigenides, that they could, whenever they pleased, enrage Alexander to such a pitch, as to make him seize on his arms, and fall into such excesses of fury, as terrified the by-standers, and filled them with apprehensions that their lives were in danger. They tell us also of a trumpeter of Megara, named Herodotus, who perceiving the strength and endeavours of the soldiers of Demetrius, insufficient to move a warlike machine of enormous weight towards the walls of Argos, which they were then besieging, he, by blowing two trumpets at a time, so inspired them, that they found their vigour in a manner doubled, and themselves enabled to conduct the machine to the place they wished.

wiſhed. They tell us likewiſe, of a remarkable flute-player, who was a Mileſian, that by touching in the Phrygian mode enraged certain men, and by changing to the Doric from the Phrygian, immediately calmed them again. Of the famous muſician Terpandro, they relate, that with his lyre, he ſtifled the flame of a ſedition among the Lacedæmonians; and of Empedocles, that he alſo with his lyre, diſarmed a youth of his choler, who was on the point of committing a parricide. I ſhall omit many other caſes of this kind.

III. If it appears wonderful, that the antient muſic ſhould have inflamed, and calmed violent paſſions, it ſeems more ſo, that it ſhould have been made uſe of to cure various diſeaſes; and ſometimes, not only in here and there an individual, but even in a whole kingdom; for Plutarch ſays, that Thaletas, a native of Crete, with the energetic ſweetneſs of the lyre, freed the Lacedæmonians from a plague; and it may be gathered from various authors, that antiently, they uſed muſic for the cure of fevers, the falling-ſickneſs, the epilepſy, deafneſs, the ſciatica, and the bite of a viper.

IV. But to tell you the truth, I think theſe facts ſhould not paſs current without ſome critical examination. And firſt of all, none of the au-

thors who teſtify theſe extraordinary inſtances of the power of muſic over the paſſions, ſpeak of them, as tranſactions they had been eye-witneſſes of, or as things that they knew from their own experience. All the facts cited, are much anterior to the authors by whom they are handed down to us; ſo that it ſeems very probable, the information came to them by tradition, or proceeded from ſome popular rumour unworthy of all credit. In matters that favour of the marvellous, both with reſpect to natural, and præternatural things, nobody is ignorant how many fables have been delivered down to us in the writings of the antients.

V. Secondly, in ſome of the caſes, there ſeems no occaſion to have recourſe to miracles for their explanation; I mean there is no occaſion for attributing the events they tell of, to the wonderful powers of muſic. It required but little impulſe, to rouze the warlike ardour of Alexander; a ſpark only will cauſe a vaſt conflagration, if it falls on a large quantity of gun-powder. Athenæus, who relates the ſtory of Herodotus, ſays, he was a man of gigantic ſize, and extraordinary robuſtneſs. He gives him near eight feet of ſtature, and ſays further, that he ate twenty pounds of meat a day, and drank wine in proportion. A man of ſuch robuſtneſs, could make uſe of much

much larger trumpets than thoſe of the common ſize, and might blow his breath through them with ſuch an impetus, as might ſtrikingly agitate the mind, and might alſo add ſome temporary degrees of vigour to the body; and for accompliſhing this, it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe any ſpecial dexterity in the management of the inſtruments, for ſtrength was more requiſite to produce ſuch an effect than addreſs; and whoever at this time, ſhould be equally robuſt with Herodotus, might be capable of doing the ſame thing. Neither perhaps in the other inſtances, I mean thoſe of irritating and mitigating rage, is there ſo much to be admired; for the influence of the muſic, might be applied to ſubjects, who are very eaſily moved; ſome ſuch as we frequently ſee, that like light weather-cocks, are wafted and turned round with the ſlighteſt breeze; and perhaps ſome modern muſician, might be able to work equal changes in the paſſions, on ſubjects who are equally ſuſceptible.

VI. Thirdly, the tales of cures which are pretended to have been performed by the means, or power of muſic, I conſider as fabulous relations; at leaſt, I have no doubt of the major part of them being ſuch. Who, I won't ſay can believe, but if he has any underſtanding, can endure to hear the chimera, that the ſound of a lyre baniſhed the plague from a whole kingdom? Such

Such tales as theſe, were written by the authors of laſt year, in order that the fools of this might believe them.

VII. With reſpect to the curing ſome particular diſeaſes, it may be proper to allow to muſic, an equal degree of credit, to that given to many other remedies, ſo much puffed, and blazoned in books, which although in reality they ſeldom do any good, ſtill preſerve their reputation; not ſo much on account of the few times they have proved ſerviceable, as from the ſick perſon's having owed his recovery to the aſſiſtance of Nature; when at the ſame time, people vainly and miſtakingly have attributed it to the application of the choſen remedy. In this manner, and with theſe explanations and reſtrictions, we ſhould underſtand muſic as a ſpecific, for this or that diſeaſe; for if we conſider it, as having influence to chear the mind, there is no doubt, that it may contribute ſomewhat to the relief of ſuch ſick people, as are very fond of it; in the ſame manner, as any other thing would do, which gave them ſpecial pleaſure or delight. I don't however, find any reaſon to prefer the antient muſic to the modern, as beſt ſuited to produce either the one or the other of theſe effects; for we have ſeen caſes, in which we have experienced this laſt, to have been very beneficial to ſick people; and probably the antients never knew

knew one, in which the curative excellence of muſic ſhone forth with more luſtre, than it did in an inſtance, which happened in the preſent century, and which is related in the hiſtory of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, in the year 1707, which I ſhall here tranſcribe, in nearly the words of its illuſtrious author.

VIII. A famous muſician and great compoſer, was attacked with a fever, which continued augmenting, till on the ſeventh day, it threw him into a violent delirium, which remained on him with little or no intermiſſion, accompanied with ſhrieks, lamentations, terrors, and perpetual watching. On the third day, one of thoſe natural inſtincts, which are ſaid to cauſe ſick brutes to ſeek ſuch herbs as are beneficial for them, induced him to requeſt ſome muſic for his entertainment. They ſung to him, properly accompanied with inſtruments, ſome of the compoſitions of Monſ. Bernier, a celebrated French muſician: as ſoon as the harmony began, his countenance appeared ſerene, his eyes looked more tranquil, the convulſions ceaſed intirely, and he ſhed tears of pleaſure; the fever left him while the muſic continued, but when that ceaſed, the fever and the ſymptoms returned again. Upon this happy and unexpected ſucceſs, they repeated the muſic again and again, and always obtained a ſuſpenſion of the fever and the ſymptoms,

toms, while the muſic laſted. A relation of his, uſed ſome nights to ſit up with him, whom he intreated to ſing and dance to him, and always found great relief from it; and it ſometimes happened, that for want of other muſic, they entertained him with common nurſes ſongs, and ſuch as are uſed to divert children, and from which he found great benefit. In fine, ten days muſic, without any other medicinal aſſiſtance than one bleeding in the ankle, which was the ſecond that had been preſcribed for him, perfectly cured him.

IX. There may be ſome doubt, whether the total cure of this man was owing to muſic; and I muſt confeſs, there is no certainty that it was. He might owe his recovery to the ſecond bleeding; or he might be indebted to Nature for it. The tranſitory relief which he received from the melody, had no more fixed connection with the ſubſtantial part of the cure, than thoſe intervals of amendment have, which in many diſeaſes, Nature affords of herſelf. The ſuſpenſion of the ſymptoms, frequently proceeds from principles, which have not ſufficient influence to entirely extirpate the malady. The knowing, that in general, it can't be inferred, that the thing is able to perform the whole, which only executes a part, makes ſuch a connection as we have mentioned before doubtful. But even if this was admitted, there ſtill exiſts in the caſe related, an

undubitable and marvellous effect of muſic; and perhaps, the quick ſuſpenſion of the fever and the ſymptoms, every time they repeated the muſic, is a more ſtriking inſtance of its immediate and wonderful power, than the perfecting a total cure would have been. I ſay, this appears more amazing to me, than if the remedy had worked an intire cure, by contributing to the recovery of the ſick perſon, by ſlow degrees, and by little and little, and which could not have been compleated, but in the courſe of a conſiderable number of days.

X. It ſeems to me alſo, that thoſe who are of opinion the modern muſic is brought to greater perfection than ever the antient was, may avail themſelves of this inſtance very advantageouſly; firſt of all, becauſe there can't be produced in favour of antient muſic, another of the ſame character; and ſecondly, becauſe it has appeared in the caſe of our ſick perſon, that he not only received relief from concertos of excellence, but even from the moſt trifling and imperfect ſongs; whereas the cures attributed to antient muſic, are alledged to have been effected by that of the firſt claſs.

XI. However, let this proof, whoſe force or debility I ſhall not dwell upon at preſent, amount

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to what it will; that which you urge in favour of modern muſic, does not appear to me of any weight or efficacy. You ſay, that at preſent this art is much more cultivated, and by men of more induſtry, and better informed, than the unlearned and barbarous antients of yore, who flouriſhed in the times when theſe extraordinary effects of muſic are related to have been experienced. From this ſuppoſition it ſhould follow, that the modern muſic is much more perfect than ever the antient was. But I look both upon the opinion, that it is more cultivated at preſent than it was formerly; and likewiſe, that it is more perfect now than it was then, not only as uncertain, but even entirely falſe and ill-grounded.

XII. Two facts of public notoriety, which are related by Polybius, are ſufficient to induce a belief, that muſic was as much, or more cultivated among the antients, than it is in our times. The firſt is, that both the Cretans, and Lacedæmonians, did not make uſe of the horrible clang of trumpets, even in battles, but of the melody of flutes. The ſecond is, that the Arcadians, from the foundation of their republic, cauſed it to be obſerved as an inviolable law, that all their ſons, from their infancy till they attained the age of thirty-one years, ſhould apply themſelves to muſic. In what kingdom in the world, is there

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at this time, ſo great and ſo general an application to this art?

XIII. The vaſt inferiority of the antients, compared to the moderns, with reſpect to induſtry and ability, is alſo a voluntary ſuppoſition. If this was ſo, it ought not only to be inferred, that they were deficient in the ſcience of muſic, but in all the other arts alſo; but this is ſo far from being the caſe, that it is known to a certainty, there were many men among them, who arrived to the higheſt pitch of excellence, both as painters, ſtatuaries, and poets, and who were ſuch, as can hardly be equalled for eminence by any modern whatever. Of the two laſt of theſe arts, there are ſtill monuments ſubſiſting, which are invincible proofs, of their great talents for, and maſterly performances in both of them; and their ſkill in the firſt, may be reaſonably inferred, from their ability in the other two; for as Vincentio Carducho, in his *Dialogues on Painting*, juſtly reaſons, if the works of the painters had been defective in any of the material requiſites, as ſome have conjectured, the ſkill of the ſtatuaries, and the perfection of the ſtatues, would glaringly have diſplayed the faults of the painters; and would conſequently, have diſcredited them as artiſts; but this was not the caſe,

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for it is eſtabliſhed by the authority of hiſtory, that their works were exceedingly prized.

XIV. This proof then, falls to the ground as ill-founded; but the partizans of modern muſic, urge another that is tolerably ſpecious; which is, that the antient was very limited, both in the modulation and harmonies of it. As to what regards the modulation, we ſhould obſerve, that before the time of the famous muſician Timotheus, who flouriſhed in the reign of Philip of Macedon, the lyre had no more than ſeven ſtrings, which expreſſed or marked ſeven tones or points only; becauſe to the antient lyre, there were no frets, nor any ſubſtitute for them, wherewith they could make on the ſame ſtring any progreſſion of diſtinct ſounds. Timotheus added two ſtrings to it, which made it an inſtrument of nine; others maintain it had nine before, and that he added two to them, and made it one of eleven. But admitting this laſt to be the fact, it then remained an inſtrument of very ſmall compaſs, compared to modern inſtruments. The chant could not exceed the bounds of the inſtrument, and by all this we may perceive the little variety and extenſion of antient modulation.

XV. With reſpect to harmony and concordances, authors, who have examined the thing with

with much attention, assure us, the antients knew no other than the third, the octave, and the double octave; adding, that they were entirely ignorant of the concerto, or music of different tones; and therefore all their accompanyments, either of an instrument with the voice, or of one voice, or one instrument with another, were constantly in unison. It may be asked now, what excellencies could be contained in a music, which was so limited and so simple? Or what comparison can you imagine there is between that and ours, either to delight the ear, or give satisfaction to the understanding?

XVI. I have acknowledged, that this objection is specious, but deny that it is conclusive. In the first place, the parts of Plutarch's works, as well as those of other authors, from whence they pretend to have collected this system of antient music, are so complicated and obscure, that nothing can with certainty be determined on the credit of them; hence it comes to pass, that writers, in their reasonings and disquisitions on this subject, are much divided in their opinions.

XVII. In the second place, I do not assent, that music, on account of its being somewhat the more simple, is the less delicious or pathetic. I acknowledge, that the variety in that, as in all

other things, contributes to the delight of it; but then the variety ought to be confined within certain limits, for that, like every other thing, has two vicious extremes, the one of which is incurred by exceſs, the other by deficiency. If the variety is very ſmall, you ſoon grow tired of it, and it ſeems rather ſurfeiting. If it is exceſſive, the ſoul is diſturbed and bewildered by the many parts of the object, and by being toſſed and hurried from one to the other, is not allowed, nor has it leiſure, for that extatic ſuſpenſion, in which the moſt intenſe part of the pleaſure conſiſts. I have ſeen an infinite number of people, much more regaled by hearing a good voice, accompanied by a guittar juſt ſcraped, than by hearing a concert of many voices and inſtruments; and I have ſometimes ſeen a perſon of very good talents ſhed tears of delight and tenderneſs, on hearing a guittar played pointedly, and with expreſſion; which never would have happened to him, by hearing a ſymphony of various inſtruments, although he ſhould have attended ſuch performances ever ſo often. The muſicians of theſe times boaſt exceedingly of the improvements they have made in their profeſſion, and of having, from an inſipid, heavy, coarſe harmony, advanced to a ſweet, airy, and delicate muſic; and many of them have been brought to conjecture, that the practice of this faculty in the preſent age has been

carried to as high a degree of perfection, as it is capable of attaining. In my Diſcourſe on Muſic in the firſt volume of the Theatrico Critico, I made a compariſon between antient and modern muſic; but what ſeems of the moſt importance to examine here is, whether the muſic of the laſt and preſent century is ſo much improved, as to intitle it to be conſidered as greatly ſuperior to that which was practiſed by the Greeks twenty centuries ago. The author of the Dialogues of Theagenes and Callimachus, printed at Paris in 1725, treats this point moſt learnedly; and affirms, that the antient muſicians excelled the modern in expreſſion, delicacy, and variety; and alſo in the fineneſs of their execution; and our great expoſitor of the ſcripture, father Don Auguſtin in Calmet, is of the ſame opinion; as he is likewiſe, with regard to the antient muſic being more excellent than the modern taken in general. In the firſt volume of his work, intitled *Diſſertationes Biblicas*, page 403, where he approves and confirms my ſentiment and taſte with reſpect to muſic, as expreſſed in my before-mentioned diſcourſe, he ſpeaks thus: Many look upon the ſimplicity of the antient muſic as rudeneſs and imperfection; but I conſider it as an argument of its excellence, for an art is reputed by ſo much the more perfect, by ſo much the nearer it approaches to Nature; and who can deny, but ſimple muſic is the moſt

natural, and beſt ſuited, to imitate the voice and paſſions of man? It riſes, or glides eaſier from the interior part of the breaſt, and has a more certain effect to cheer the heart, and ſtir the affections; beſides, the opinion which is generally entertained of the ſimplicity of antient muſic, is erroneous. It is true, that it was exceedingly ſimple, but notwithſtanding that, it was very copious alſo; for the antients had many inſtruments, which we are ſtrangers to; and on the other hand, their muſic was not wanting in concord and harmony. To this we may add, that it had the advantage of ours in another reſpect, for it was a part of the excellence of the antient muſic, that the ſound of the inſtruments did not confound or interrupt the words of the ſong, but rather enforced or gave energy to them; ſo that at the ſame time the ear was delighted with the ſweetneſs of the voice, the mind taſted the elegance and nervous expreſſion of the verſe. We ought not therefore to wonder at the prodigious effects which we are told were produced by the muſic of the antients; becauſe it poſſeſſed, joined together and united, all thoſe excellencies, which are contained in ours, only ſingle or divided. Calmet alſo, in his Dictionario Biblico, gives us a ſheet of engraving, containing twenty different inſtruments which were in uſe among the Hebrews; and it is very probable, that among the Greeks, who were

were a more poliſhed people, and greater lovers of muſic than the others, they had many more; neither have we any great reaſon to value ourſelves upon our invention in contriving muſical inſtruments being greater or better than that of the antients; for there has never yet appeared among us an hydraulic organ, which was in uſe among the antients, and of which Cteſibius, a mathematician of Alexandria, was ſuppoſed to be the author, a hundred years prior to the chriſtian æra; and Voſſius ſays, they have often tried and laboured ſince, but without effect, to reſtore it. It is alſo proper to obſerve, that ſome inſtruments, which we reckon the invention of latter ages, were in uſe among the antients; ſuch as the violincello, and violin; whoſe antiquity the author of the Dialogue of Theagenes and Callimachus proves, by a medal which is deſcribed by Vignete, and a ſtatue of Orpheus, which is at Rome.

XVIII. In the third place, I do not aſſent, that the antient muſic was ſo ſimple as it is pretended to have been; but am rather inclined to think, that in the eſſential it was more complicate than the modern. My reaſon for this opinion is, that over and above the Diatonic and Chromatic ſpecies which is contained in our muſic, and which is common to both, they, in the diviſion of the octave, made uſe of the Enharmonic alſo, which

which our muſic does not poſſeſs or partake of. The Enharmonic conſiſts in the introduction of the tenths, which are intervals of no more than the quarter part of a tone, or of two comas, and the quarter part of another. It is true, that the moderns give the name of tenth to the minor ſemitone; but in the muſic of antiquity, tenths had the ſignification which I have here aſſigned to them.

XIX. This, as I ſaid before, creates a very eſſential variety in a muſic, and different from that which conſiſts purely in running the compoſition through two, three, or more octaves; and which may be called accidentals, becauſe the points of one octave are little more than a mere repetition of the correſpondent ones of another; and I not only judge this variety of the antient muſic eſſential in itſelf, but think it is likewiſe ſo with reſpect to the effects of it; for it muſt neceſſarily produce a greater, and very probably a much more lively variation of the affections. So that by mixing the Harmonic ſpecies with the other two, the ſame advantages will accrue as aroſe by mixing the Diatonic with the Chromatic; and the muſic, in conſequence of doing it, will be as much benefited, as it was by joining thoſe two together, which made it infinitely

nitely preferable to what it was when they uſed each ſingly, and by itſelf.

I have now ſtated to you the arguments and reaſonings on both ſides of the queſtion, with reſpect to the competition between antient and modern muſic; and methinks I already hear you ſay, to which ſhall we give the preference? To this I ſhall only anſwer, that I have ſent you all the pleadings and documents in the cauſe, and muſt beg you to pronounce the ſentence, for I muſt confeſs, for my own part, that I am undecided.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRATA.

Pag. line.
123 9 *read* favourite's houſe,
140 1 *ſtrike out* and
283 23 *read* her knowledge